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10 November 1982

# West Europe Report

No. 2057



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FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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## GERMANS QUESTION MITTERRAND'S ANTI-TERRORIST STAND

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 18 Aug 82 p 8

[Article by Thankmar von Muenchhausen: "Terrorists Live at Ease in Paris. The French Government has Systematically Limited Police Effectiveness"]

[Text] Is France, in its struggle against subversive terrorism, about to lose not just single battles, but the whole war? In the 3-week period between 19 July and 10 August, 112 politically motivated crimes ranging from fire bombings to arson were committed. Eight persons were killed and almost 50 others wounded. Ever since the murderous fire bombing of a Jewish restaurant in Paris, where six persons were killed, many Frenchmen have been asking themselves questions about the political determination of the Socialist government to prevent such terrorism and about the means available to the police in its efforts. President Mitterrand himself, after some hesitation, has been obliged to respond to these same questions.

At the top of the list is the necessity of more effective coordination among the various police agencies. Since the bombing of an Arabic newspaper in the Rue Marbeuf on 22 April (one person killed, more than 60 wounded), senior police and counterintelligence officials have been meeting once or twice a week under the direction of the minister of the interior or his deputy. Still, such an entity as a "general staff," which would coordinate all anti-terrorist efforts, does not yet exist. On the contrary: with the abolition of the state security court last year, the incumbent Socialists and Communists have eliminated precisely the institution which did command an overview of the multitude of terrorist activities.

Responsible for the surveillance of suspected terrorists in France have been the secret policy agency "Renseignements Generaux (Sub-department for Information and Foreigners) and the counterintelligence agency (Direction de la surveillance du territoire), DST. Outside of France, the intelligence service "Direction generale a la securite exterieure," DGSE (formerly: SDECE) and the foreign service have been responsible for gathering additional information. The main effort, following the most recent terrorist attacks in Paris, has been borne by the 6th division of the detective force, with some 25 assigned officers.



Domestic terrorist groups such as the Corsican and Breton separatists or the revolutionary "Action Directe" have been closely watched by the police, whose efforts have also included the use of infiltrated agents. In contrast to this, efforts directed at the international terrorism scene have been far less effective.

Only recently did the minister of the interior order the establishment of an electronic data bank on the order of West Germany's Federal Office of Criminal Investigations, in which all available information concerning domestic and foreign terrorists is to be stored. When this electronic data network is ready for operation, the French police will have taken a considerable step forward. Until then, each police service will have to make do with its own documentation and hope that other agencies, which might know more about a specific case, will be willing to make the necessary information available. At best, this involves a loss of time: "The investigator must make a written request and apply personally to the agency in question, in order to gain access to the required information. For a simple check, 2 days are frequently necessary," (LIBERATION 12 August 1982).

Another problem, in addition to the failure of coordination, is the jealousy prevalent among the various police agencies, the proverbial "war of the police forces," which has also hampered the suppression of organized--non-political--crime. When Hamo Moskovian, an Armenian from Beirut, was seriously wounded by gunfire last March, agents of the DST only grudgingly allowed their colleagues from the detective force to interrogate the wounded man. When the state prosecutor's office wanted to investigate the case, Moscovian was already on his way back to Beirut--apparently with the help of the counterintelligence service.

In what shape is cooperation between France and other countries in the struggle against terrorism? Representatives from France have taken part in consultations with other Western intelligence services in Bern which take place a number of times each year. For the past 5 years France has been tied in to an information network concerning terrorism, radicalism and international violence (Travi), organized by the European Community. A branch of Travi is located not far from the Champs-Elysees. Yet France's Western partners have had little reason to be satisfied with her cooperation in criminal investigations or with applications for extradition of terrorists. "Thanks to numerous confessions already made, we know the aliases and often even the addresses of terrorists of every stripe who are living undisturbed in Paris," was the complaint of the Italian judge, Ferdinando Impositamo, in a statement to the French press. "I say 'undisturbed' because the efforts of the Italian police to gain the assistance of French authorities have been to no avail." A close associate of the Italian police general, Dalla Chiesa, has remarked, "We regret that the French authorities have not responded with greater interest to our information and clues," (LE POINT 2 August 1982).

Minister of the Interior Defferre has responded to charges made by the press, saying that the police have been augmented by some 10,000 men since he took office and that progress has been made in the area of police equipment. Yet the reality of the police is not simply a factor of the number of officers,

but rather of their deployment capability. This capability, however, has been systematically reduced by the new government. A directive of the minister of the interior on 13 August ordered "the dissolution of the special units beginning immediately and the integration of their personnel into the general units." It was these special detachments made up of volunteers--"mobile security units," the "crime suppression brigade," the "street surveillance brigade," "task force units"--which demonstrated particular zeal and undertook a far higher number of arrests than the average. In accordance with the intentions of the left wing police unions and the ministry of the interior, all this is now a thing of the past.

At the same time, the "Renseignements Generaux" are being reorganized. Police officials are becoming nervous as a result of the rotation or transfer of experienced bureau heads. They prefer to keep the lowest possible "profile." One reason is that old political scores are being settled and power bases established. The so-called "police of the police," the highest inspection and control authority, has been abolished. The "Action Section" of the DGSE, one of the most important organizations concerned with the fight against terrorism, is aware of the mistrust with which it is being treated: "In recent months we have repeatedly presented plans to the Elysee for dealing with terrorist activities which are being prepared in France. We had the information and the opportunities to take action. They didn't want to listen to us!"

The various terrorist acts since spring would have been the cause for less concern if the determination to protect a democratic order were in evidence at the highest levels of government. Yet the wrangling in the ranks of the administration and the Socialist Party gives little reason to hope that the incumbent Left has genuinely recognized the danger of revolutionary terrorism and is determined to fight it. Even their more conservative predecessors were able to chalk up few successes in this area. The new people in power have continued to dismantle the defenses against terrorism. "I will forgo no means and no direction in the fight against international terrorism," promised Minister of Interior Defferre before the National Assembly more than 3 months ago. Until now, however, he has failed to give substance to his words.

9878

CSO: 3103/636

## ACTIVITIES, STRUCTURE OF GRAPO VIEWED

Madrid YA in Spanish 1 Oct 82 p 11

[Text] The GRAPO [First of October Armed Revolutionary Group] terrorist organization has begun a campaign against the coming elections, since it considers them to be a "farce" put on by the oligarchy and the political parties--according to the "communiques to the public" and the directives coming from the executive committee made up of the "assembly of prisoners."

In several pages of a pamphlet for internal distribution which YA was able to obtain, the people in charge of GRAPO tell their story of the democratic process in recent years, and pour out harsh accusations against Adolfo Suarez, President Calvo Sotelo and the socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez, whom they accuse of having played the game of the capitalists' interests and having opposed the aspirations of the people.

The GRAPO directives announce that attacks will be carried out against the electoral colleges, they will hold rallies outside their doors, and will make various attempts to mobilize the masses, besides destroying and obstructing the distribution of publicity for the different parties which are running in the elections. This internal GRAPO document does not announce attacks against specific persons or groups, but police circles do not rule out any action of this type, keeping in mind that today, 1 October, coincides with the date when GRAPO made its first public appearance.

A little before noon yesterday the voice of a woman, who identified herself as a member of the First of October Armed Revolutionary Group, telephoned the local office of the France Press Agency in Madrid to take responsibility for the bombs planted in different Spanish cities during the afternoon last Tuesday and early Wednesday morning, explaining that these attacks were in commemoration of the seventh anniversary of the execution of "five anti-fascists," referring to the members of ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] and FRAP [People's Action Revolutionary Front] shot in 1975.

Yesterday seven persons were being held in the offices of the Madrid Regional Information Squad. They belong to the association of families of political prisoners and ex-prisoners, whom the police accuse of allegedly keeping up ties with GRAPO. According to what sources in that organization have told YA, this group of people were arrested when they were found meeting in an office of

of property no 37 on Chueca Street. These information sources told us that the police also arrested attorney Juan Manuel Gonzalez Berzoza, who was in the same place, but that he was later set free. Some women from the association of families of political prisoners and ex-prisoners added that another youth was arrested by the police in the La Milagrosa Clinic, where he was receiving medical attention as a result of an injury to his foot which occurred several months ago.

#### Six Commandos

Reliable sources have informed YA that six commandos of GRAPO, each of them made up of three people, are believed to have spread out through different Spanish capitals at present. Therefore it is thought that 18 "liberated" activists are taking part in the current escalation of terrorism.

Evidence now at hand makes the police think that Alfonzo Gonzalez Cambeiro could be in the capital of Spain, and that he is accompanied by Maria Teresa Gonzalez Rodriguez. Among those who make up the other commandos are people like Joaquin Calero Arcones, Juan Martin Luna, Victor Calcerrada Forniellas, Carmen Cayetano Navarro, Josefina Garcia Aramburu and other "grapos" whom the police are trying to track down.

On the other hand, yesterday morning the funeral of scrap dealer Pedro Gabarri Gabarri took place. He was killed on Tuesday when he was struck by the shock wave of a bomb supposedly planted by GRAPO in the vicinity of an electrical transformer in Castellon. Caritas and the Gypsy Secretariat are taking action to give economic assistance to the family of the deceased.

8131

CSO: 3548/9

## PARTIES' LEADERS DIFFER ON PROSPECTS FOR ENERGY EXPORTING

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Eivind G. Karlsen: "Conservative Party Chairman States Clearly That the West Can Count On Norway's Oil"]

[Text] Norway, the oil country, feels a clear responsibility to contribute to the world's energy supplies--mainly in West Europe. The slogan of the European movement "international solidarity" has, in that connection, the open support of a broad majority in the Storting. Prominent party spokesmen take a position quite a bit more reserved on the desire for stronger "allied presence" with the oil activity on the northern shelf. The need for increased exploration has majority approval--in the Conservative and Labor Parties.

The Energy Political Committee of the European movement, as is known, advocates an initiative for increased energy cooperation between Norway and the EC--and a real dialogue with these countries within the framework of foreign-political EPS [expansion unknown] cooperation. This wish for better harmony with the western allies has been interpreted as a recommendation to "couple trade" with the aid of Norwegian oil and gas, which it obviously was not. Such a position was clearly rejected in commentaries which AFTENPOSTEN has obtained.

The Labor Party's Guttorm Hansen and the Conservatives' parliamentary leader Jo Benkow share the strong skepticism of others in this respect. "But," adds Benkow, "Norway's actual position as a great energy supplier is becoming a reality which must be given independent weight."

Furthermore the Conservative Party leader maintains that we--because of the time factor--can offer no alternative to West Europe to the first gas pipeline from Siberia, but can to later pipelines. Benkow leaves no doubt as to the position of the government party; Norway is willing and desires to

contribute to stable energy supplies to West Europe in the 1990's--and thereby reduce the dependence of the West on other sources. After the next decade Norway will be able to assume the task as a very significant gas supplier on commercial terms to West Europe, he said.

Today we lack an overview of the petroleum resources on the continental shelf, especially in the north. The demand of the European movement is therefore for expanded exploration. That is also the government's line, confirmed recently in the speech from the throne last Saturday, to increase exploration off mid-Norway and north-Norway as soon as better safety makes that defensible. Guttorm Hansen says he has no great contrary opinions against expanded exploration in the north, if the needed consideration is given to safety.

This reservation partly agrees with the views which the Christian People's Party leader Kjell Magne Bondevik made applicable in a commentary on the report of the European movement: "It is doubtful, considering our bilateral position with the big neighbor in the east, if it would be positive to draw in foreign companies on the exploitation of the northernmost part of our continental shelf. We must now emphasize 'low tension' in the northern areas." The leader of the Center Party, Johan J. Jakobsen, also emphasized that.

Bondevik also said, "We must obviously recognize the responsibility we have to help our West European allies with energy supplies, especially natural gas. On the other hand I want to emphasize that it is necessary for reasons of principle and economics that Norway maintain the requirement for full national freedom of action over these resources, meaning the tempo and the manner in which they are used. Our solidarity in this area must go further than to EC, the third world's requirements must also come strongly into the picture."

Johan J. Jakobsen declared a corresponding viewpoint, but lacked the emphasis on our duty to the Nordic countries in the report.

Jakobsen said, "As to the EPS, I believe above all that formal adherence is unrealistic as long as we build on the result of EC voting in 1972. We believe that a 'real dialogue' can be had with the EC countries in foreign policy questions without impacting on EPS--and perhaps be dependent on EC political decisions," he added.

Permanent secretary Eivinn Berg in the Foreign Ministry, with reference to West Europe's gas requirements in the 1990's, maintains that there is a steadily increasing unity of interest between Norway and the EC--and that this has clear foreign political and economic consequences. Oil and gas resources are a positive factor in our relations with EC, which is strengthened to some degree by the fact that our production is steadily moving far-

ther north. Berg is therefore in agreement with the European movement's committee that in the formation of our future oil policy we should pay attention to the foreign and national security aspects. So the problem will be corrected by the political contacts we have with EPS.

9287

CSO: 3639/8

## ELECTION OF OETV CHIEF INDICATES NEW TREND IN UNIONS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Oct 82 pp 136, 138

[Article: "A Dominant Figure"]

[Text] The election of 40-year old Monika Wulf-Mathies to the chairmanship of the OETV [Public Service and Transport Workers Union] highlights the advances made by a new generation and type of leadership in the German trade union movement.

The candidate was making every effort to keep her composure. With characteristic coolness and self-discipline, as if there were nothing more pressing to do at the moment, Monika Wulf-Mathies picked up her ball point pen and noted the election returns: 304 votes for Siegfried Merten, 326 for Monika Wulf-Mathies.

She had succeeded in gaining the required number of votes on the first ballot: the delegates of the Public Service and Transport Workers Union (OETV) had chosen the 40-year old university graduate (Ph.D. in German literature) to succeed Heinz Kluncker, who had resigned because of a worsening cardio-vascular condition. The trade union official, whose nomination had been recommended to her colleagues by Kluncker himself, claimed to be "overwhelmed." In an effort to comfort losing candidate Mertens, she remarked that she herself "had never counted on its happening."

Probably not many others had either. Even OETV insiders had been figuring just before the balloting, that the delegates to last Wednesday's trade union congress at Wiesbaden would reject a woman, especially one so young, in favor of the man second in the OETV hierarchy, Siegfried Merten, 54, Kluncker's deputy and right hand man in many wage negotiation battles.

Their choice of a woman marked what might become a widespread trend among West German trade unions. For the first time in union history, a woman has taken her place in the tight circle of 17 major trade union chairmen. Like Kluncker himself, only 39 years old at the time of his election to the chairmanship of West Germany's second largest trade union, Monika Wulf-Mathies has the opportunity of becoming the dominant figure in the German Trade Union Federation.



The different ways in which the two candidates presented their programs to the congress delegates served to point up the shift in generations at the summit of the OETV.

Merten, everyone's good buddy, recollected his having joined the OETV "back in 1952" and recounted to his colleagues his steps on the road to the top. The one time truck driver for the occupation forces, who never did complete vocational training, found his speaking style cramped by the competition of his rival. Sometimes fumbling, he read his speech from prepared notes and gave the impression of being detached from the whole proceedings and even bored.

His rival candidate came forward with an image of a challenger, a fighter. For 5 years, in the office of the Federal Chancellor under Brandt and Schmidt, where she had risen to section chief, she had good opportunity to develop her skills as an extemporaneous speaker.

Kluncker's successor is the first representative of a new type of trade union official who has made it to the top ranks of the labor movement. Articulate university graduates have made "the long march through the institutions" in many labor organizations. The old guard of union leaders like Eugen Loderer, Rudolf Sperner or Karl Hauenschield, who are due to retire soon, could very likely be succeeded by trade unionists on the order of Frau Wulf-Mathies.

What is gradually but continually coming to the fore there will also result in changes in the style of the labor movement: a farewell to class warfare, to be replaced by the cool calculation of labor interests.

This change is seen most clearly in the largely service-based Transport and Public Services Union. Among its 1.2 million members, it is no longer male workers--Merten's power base of sanitation workers, longshoremen and truck drivers--who set the tone, but white collar employees like the new union head.

With more than half million white collar workers organized in the OETV, the union now has the largest number of such wageearners in the German Labor Federation, more even than its rival Clerical Workers Union (DAG).

It is in the hospitals and child care centers, social welfare agencies and the public utilities that Monika Wulf-Mathies, involved with the health sector, finds her supporters. She was able, without serious opposition, to abolish traditional notions of status among the membership of the OETV. Doctors, nurses and midwives have, in the meantime, pledged themselves to a unified health care policy.

Although more than a quarter of all OETV members are women, the new chairman does not owe her election to her female colleagues: only 10 percent of the delegates at Wiesbaden were women.

That the overwhelmingly male delegation nonetheless chose to elect a female chief is evidence that the old slogans of strong men are no longer effective. Before the election, Merten had been loudly hammering away at the "rotten

brain cells" of social welfare policy makers in Bonn. He also promised to equalize cuts in the social welfare budget through wage contracts.

This kind of macho posturing, aimed all too simplistically at wage percentages in the next round of contract negotiations, now seems to have run its course in the OETV. Monika Wulf-Mathies' style is more soft-spoken, though with the same big stick of union demands.

In her own specialty--health care--she has put forward a catalog of demands which, if taken seriously, could disrupt traditional trade union policy. Sickneses ought not to wait for hospitalization to be dealt with, but are to be prevented by better working conditions. She has aimed strong criticism at her countrymen's rising consumption of over-the-counter medications, heavily pushed by advertising. Her colleagues in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, it seems, are not likely to take kindly to the idea.

Still, there is one characteristic that she claims to have in common with the old guard: during contract negotiations she can sit through the night "just like anyone else."

9878

CSO: 3620/7

## FURTHER DECLINE FOR AUTO INDUSTRY PREDICTED

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 1 Oct 82 p 27

[Article by Richard Gaul: "Cure With 'Plenty of Reduced Work Time' "]

[Text] Things are becoming more and more difficult for the optimists in the German automobile industry: Not only the largest manufacturer, Volkswagen, is being forced to cut back production, now Ford has announced reduced work time, and even the Automobile Industry Association (VdA) is predicting a downward slide for this year, with a double-digit decline in production for the industry.

For all that, the year has gone well for Germany's car makers: Buyers on the domestic market were holding back, but increasing demand from abroad brought a real growth in sales of 9 percent in the first half year and until August allowed an increase in production of 12 percent.

But, in the opinion of Achim Diekmann, manager-in-chief of the VdA, that is now over. In Germany there will be a drop in registrations of new cars in 1982 of about 10 percent, contrary to expectations at the beginning of the year; export sales will also be more difficult. The recession and shifts in currency have reduced the chances of German automobiles. It will not be possible to maintain the high rate of employment that has existed so far; in the next few weeks "plenty of reduced work time" would have to be prescribed.

The production cutbacks made by VW have already been plentiful: 75,000 workers are spending 14 days at home, starting on Monday of this week, 50,000 cars are not being built; additional extensive holiday shifts are to be announced.

By contrast, the 10 days reduced work time for 4,000 Ford employees appear comparatively modest. The management at Ford in Cologne is trying to play down their reduction in production: Lines were not moving "only" in Koeln-Niehl, there was too little demand only for the large Ford models.

VW will not find additional imitators quickly; at Opel, Daimler-Benz, BMW and Porsche there is unanimous assurance that reduced work time will not be considered for the foreseeable future:

--In Ruesselsheim, at the General Motors subsidiary Opel, it is pointed out proudly that new registrations in the first 8 months have risen, against the industry trend,

--while the fact is modestly concealed that in the last 2 years more customers than average have turned their backs on Opel.

--Daimler-Benz announces "full employment," demand for the sedans from Stuttgart remains stable--but there is also no waiting time for delivery, at least for the smaller Mercedes models.

--BMW also does not plan to reduce daily production in the next months.

--The smallest manufacturer, Porsche, is "working at 110-percent of capacity."

In individual factories, preparations for and the beginning of volume production of new models are helping to keep up employment: Ford has just announced the "Sierra;" VW's subsidiary Audi is working at full capacity with the new "Audi 100;" at Opel the finishing touches are being put on a new "Rekord," expected soon; in December Daimler-Benz will offer a new model below the current 200-series, and in the next few months BMW will introduce a new model in the 3-series.

However, VdA manager Diekmann is not entirely wrong with his prognosis of "plenty of reduced work time:" Trucks are currently selling even worse than passenger cars, MAN and Magirus-Deutz are already reducing production. Only the market leader Daimler-Benz is still able to find compensatory employment through exports, principally to OPEC countries.

There will also be "plenty of reduced work time" among the automotive suppliers. They are not receiving orders from the truck manufacturers, above all they are not receiving orders from the Volkswagen factory.

VW is proving to be particularly hard hit by the reluctance to buy in the middle classes of automobile, for VW was weak going into the more intense competition: In the previous year Wolfsburg had suffered losses in its factories abroad and created havoc with the balance sheets at its subsidiary Triumph-Adler. And this year things did not go well in South America and the United States.

The decline in sales in the United States forced an almost completed second Rabbit assembly plant to be put on hold--and forced VW president James W. McLernon to resign.

When sales became more difficult, the German automobile concern with the largest production also had the wrong program in Europe: The best-selling Rabbit, now almost 10 years old, has to face the new Opel Kadett and the new Ford Escort; the top VW model, Santana, has not caught on, and to generate sales, even price reductions were necessary; the smallest VW, the Polo, has not been accepted in its new station wagon body-work--and the Polo coupe that has just been introduced is considered too expensive. The Audi 100, received almost euphorically by the automobile testers, cannot by itself bring the necessary impetus to the concern as a whole.

"General economic woes," the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU concludes, "are not the only cause of the hard times toward which the VW concern is clearly drifting."

The "comparatively good situation," in which VW chief Carl H. Hahn saw the company that he directs just a few months ago, has deteriorated drastically; Hahn's fear

"that the automobile industry in Germany, as the final support of the economy, will lose strength in the second half of the year," has proven to be true--mainly because the Volkswagen factory has collapsed. The men in Wolfsburg have even had to write figures in red in the meantime; dividend forecasts for the current year are no longer being issued.

The Automobile Industry Association is hoping for an improvement in the industry next year. Buyer reluctance has lasted for 4 years, the "pent up demand" will bring about a revival in 1983 at the latest. Also, the numbers of citizens with a driver's license is growing along with the tendency to have smaller households; both of these increase the sales potential for cars.

VdA manager Achim Diekmann therefore does not find "anything dramatic" in the increase in reduced work time, it demonstrated that German automotive leaders were also hoping for a revival soon. With reduced work time expensive inventory was avoided and through reduced work time production could be cut back temporarily and layoffs could be avoided.

The sorely tried VW chief Carl H. Hahn is somewhat more pessimistic than the VdA. He does not expect an improvement until the second half of next year--because then the oldtimer Rabbit will be replaced by a successor at VW.

9581

CSO: 3620/27

## FINANCE MINISTER PRESENTS AUSTERE BUDGET TO STORTING

Includes Tax Cuts

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Arne Finborud: "Presthus Plays With a Muted Instrument"]

[Text] It has been 50 years since the Conservative Party last presented a national budget, and so we are experiencing a kind of historic day today. We will not, however, experience a turning point in our economic life. The budget which Minister of Finance Rolf Presthus presented to the Storting this morning maintains a low political profile, there is no dramatic change of course, but rather a careful adjustment of the economic policy which has become a kind of common property.

But greater adjustments than this budget could have been presented by all the realistic government alternatives in the country. Just as an example: 2 years ago Ulf Sand presented a Labor Party budget which had greater tax reductions than the one Rolf Presthus presented today.

Besides the main economic course being largely held the same, the political importance of this budget lies in the fact that the Conservative Party is now killing off a number of myths about itself, which partly were created by political opponents, and which the party partly has created about itself. It should now definitely be established that the Conservatives do not want to destroy the welfare state. The social budget is large--as before--and no transferring of funds in the budget has been done. High public expenditures are maintained, and the subsidy policies continue. There is no trace of any kind of Friedman philosophy, the influx of money is maintained, and there will not be less money in circulation next year.

It is just as important that the Conservatives are bringing themselves down to earth. During all their years in the opposition the message has been that growth power in the economy would return with a conservative government, that

inflation would decline significantly, finance policy would be tightened, and ability to compete with nations abroad would be improved. Nothing of the kind is in sight for 1983.

The tax policy is the most important part in this connection. Yes, it is the alpha and the omega of the conservative policies. Now we will therefore get a real tax reduction of 1.2 - 1.5 billion kronor, including corporate taxes. How the dynamic tax policy will work when there is talk of giving a couple of kroner in stimulance for each day, is an enigma. It is remarkable that there is no room for a reduction of investment fees. And the reduction of business taxes which is offered will be eaten up just by the increase in the electric rates. There is not much stimulance remaining for business from this.

When the government itself goes in for an increase of fees and rates by a minimum of 10 percent, they have given up the fight against inflation. That is almost as bad as when Per Kleppe warned of powerful increases of the same items as soon as price and wage controls were removed. The government was guiding prices, and that is no change.

The tax reductions which are announced will contribute to holding wage increases down next year. This is the main message of the budget. Low wage increases will lead to lower costs to business, and thereby strengthen our competitive ability. But even with a very small pay increase next year our competitive ability will be worsened in 1983, as it was last year and this. The magic boundry is an eight percent wage increase, such as our trade partners will get, and the overhang from this year makes up half of it. If one counts on only a little local wage sliding, it will not be more than one or two percent in the central negotiations. So we ask if the government in its budget is preparing for a worsening of competitive ability next year also.

And then we will really be in bad shape with unemployment.

Another obsession of the Conservatives has been that the finance policy must be driven with considerably tighter reins; the balance of the public budgets must in other words be improved, and the intent should be to reduce the pressure on the economy and thereby get better price development. Now there has been a certain improvement in the finance political situation, but not of significant character. The cause of that is that the government has not gone loose on the expenditure side so that it really helps, and that the tax reductions have worked in a negative way on the income side. This is best illustrated by the fact that the income side of the budget increased by 11.9 percent, while expenses increased by 12.1 percent.

This budget will create smaller political waves in the Storting than many had thought in advance. Obviously there are things here which irritate the Christian People's Party and the Center Party, but not so badly that a certain adjustment will not stop all speculation of a government crisis. At

the worst it would be enough for the Center Party to acknowledge that their district profile is sharply weakened, and the Christian People's Party to continue to push foreign aid more than the Conservatives. But there will be no crisis, because the political circumstances are not right for it. Then one usually arranges things in private.

Possibilities are available to the Labor Party to create an opposition line to focus their entire alternative on unemployment. The party will claim that this budget is poorly adjusted to the gloomy conditions, and prospects on the labor market, and will point out that the expected decline both in private and public investment will create still more unemployed.

The Labor Party will find 1.5 billion kroner to use for improving employment. The party will omit tax reductions, and not increase the military budget as much as the Conservatives have done. Thereby the party can also find the resources for other individual purposes which are unfairly dealt with by the conservative government, for example the environment and culture.

But still it is a little bold to predict that the loudest protests against this budget will come from Carl I. Hagen and the like, and from those who have not already subdued their expectations of a conservative government.

Obviously there will be eruptions from other places also, from groups and institutions. We already expect a racket from Marienlyst and Blindern, to cite two examples.

But all in all the protests will be more suppressed than assumed beforehand. Jo Benkow said last spring that the budget would be neither be a purely conservative budget nor a combined bourgeois budget, but "something in between."

I think it is mostly something in between. It could have also been a toothless Labor Party budget, even though the Labor Party will protest wildly against that assertion.

#### Increase in Non-Oil Exports Hoped

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by Gudleiv Forr: "Appeal to All for Moderation"]

[Text] The Willoch government appeals to all of us for moderation, temperance, willingness to readjust and contributions to bringing us across the hill which the poor economy has created. On their side the government will do its best to ensure work for all, to protect and expand the welfare state.

For that we must rebuild the growth power of the Norwegian economy, to quote the conservative terminology.



This obviously has its place in the conservative government's first national budget, which was published today. It does not exactly announce good times on the threshold. The business upturn looks like it will be moderate, writes the government, and agrees with the OECD experts. If we are to improve our competitive ability in relation to nations abroad, we must renounce our wage demands so that the amount of wages per unit of production will be under eight percent next year. This year it will be weakened by four percent.

The government's economic proposal will cause a certain tightening in financial policy and a somewhat less tight credit policy. It is also necessary to have strict regulation of demand to suppress inflation.

#### Change

According to the government it is necessary to have a gradual change of economic policy in order to protect employment and the welfare state. The tax reductions now being granted will make it possible to achieve real wage increases with lower nominal wage increases. The government assumes that wage increases next year will be less than price increases, a form of miracle which did not take place this year. But as the government writes in the national budget, "It should be both reasonable and realistic, seen against the background of the decrease in taxes."

#### Growth

Assuming a moderate business upturn, a growth in our GNP of 0.8 percent is expected from this year to next. That is a definite improvement from last year when we registered a decline of 0.1 percent. With the usual security margin of 15 percent it is estimated that we will have unchanged oil and gas production next year--50 million tons of oil equivalent. But the value is expected to decline by at least 3 percent. If oil and shipping is excluded, an increase in GNP is estimated at 1.6 next year, compared to 0.6 percent this year.

Total domestic consumption of goods and services is expected to increase by about two percent, the same as this year. Industry is expected to have a production increase of 0.4 percent, the number of persons working can increase somewhat more if the tendency toward more part-time work is maintained.

Investment is expected to increase by one and one-half percent next year, primarily because Statpipe and Karsto are causing a 30 percent increase in the oil sector. Housing investment is expected to increase by two percent, investment in other business by one and one-half percent despite an expected decline in industrial investment of 10 percent.

#### Import

Our traditional export of goods can increase by five percent in volume next year, but it is also expected that imports will increase by the same amount.

And after a few years of profit in the operating balance across the country, we must expect a deficit again next year.

With a profit in the balance of goods and services of 17.5 billion this year, it appears that we will have an operating profit of barely 3 billion. But the safety margin in oil production and extraordinarily large imports for the expansion in the North Sea will mean that the balance of goods and services will fall to 11.6 billion next year. And with an expected increase in the deficit on interest and aid balance from 14.7 to 15.2 billion kroner, we will have a deficit in the operating balance of fully 3.5 billion kroner in 1983.

#### High-Income Taxpayers Benefit Most

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 15

[Article by Gudleiv Forr: "Tax Reductions for Both Poor and Rich--But Mostly for the Rich"]

[Excerpts] The national budget is 30 billion kroner higher.

The Willoch government's first national budget, which is being presented today, has a final total of almost 192 billion kroner. That is over 30 billion more than last year's budget bill for the current year. The total income is over 166 billion kroner. That means that the government needs to borrow over 25 billion kroner. That is double as much as the current year.

This year's national budget also includes the insurance budget, while previously the insurance budget was a separate budget.

The central goal for the government is to secure work for all and to protect and expand the welfare state. To get growth moving in the Norwegian economy the government says in its own words that it will try to tighten regulating demand, and counteract production decline by tax reduction and revision of the tax system in a way more favorable to productivity.

A moderate tightening in financial policy will, together with real reduction in individual taxes, lay the foundation for a moderate income settlement to improve competitive ability so that employment can be maintained.

The government promises that price increases will be lower next year than this year, and they also request that individuals restore growth and progress to the Norwegian economy.

The government is paying dearly to give its voters the promised tax reductions, and it will still be a long time before the entire promise is carried out. Next year's dynamic tax policy will cost 6,131,000,000 kroner, over 6 billion. Of this unbelievably high amount only 1,250,000,000 kroner, or over 1 billion, is in the form of real reductions in personal taxes.

This 1,250 million kroner assumes again that price increases next year do not exceed 11 percent. If inflation gets higher, the real reductions decline. With a lower price increase we get in return greater reductions.

This year we are facing a price increase of more than 11 percent. In its national budget the government has estimated that the increase will be between 10 and 11 percent. About 15 percent increase in prices would be necessary to entirely eliminate the tax reductions.

As usual it is the people with the high incomes who will benefit most, and the government assumes that these will show the greatest moderation during next year's wage negotiations. In theory the tax reductions will empty into moderation on the day of the wage negotiations.

A married director of a company with 2 children who earns 250,000 kroner per year will have 2,613 kroner more family allowance next year. One of his employees who earns 90,000 kroner with the same number of children will have 641 kroner more during 1983.

The family allowance is included in the government's tax package, together with increased deductions on tax returns, increased minimum and adjustment deductions and increased provided deductions. Also reductions in business taxes.

All the marginal tax rates in ordinary income taxes to the state are reduced by 2 percentage points, while the 4 lowest progression limits are increased by 10 percent in both tax classes 1 and 2.

#### Four-Percent Increase for Military

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 17

[Text] There will also be 4 percent real growth in the defense budget. The test balloons which the government sent out through its organ AFTENPOSTEN gave the result that it was best to hold to the party's program on that issue.

We can, therefore, if it is approved, be proud of the fact that in NATO only the United States, France and Great Britain use more money per inhabitant for defense. That will cost us 12 billion kroner next year.

In the budget bill the defense operating expenses are 7.8 billion kroner, or 65.2 percent, while 4.2 billion kroner, or 34.8 percent will go for investment. The amount for new procurement of military material is 3.2 billion.

F-16

We note otherwise that the F-16 project is approaching the end, but that major fighter plane purchases for 1983 will also be a dominant expenditure

for the air force. Over 70 percent of the total air force investment budget goes to that project.

The budget states that the Defense Department now intends to carry out rationalization measures in order to save resources. There are no plans to increase manpower.

There will be large departures of noncoms in the 1980's because of distorted age distribution, lowered age limit to 60 years and large incidental departures. This has caused increased training and appointment quotas in the defense forces. Within the defense table of organization there has at the same time been a shift in the proportion of noncoms to civilian personnel.

The 1983 budget shows that there will be fewer noncoms in the defense forces at the same time as the number of civilians rises. For 1983 there will be 12,803 noncoms and 11,192 civilians in the Defense Department.

#### Foreign Aid Remains at Percent of GNP

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 16

[Text] The government proposes that 4 billion kroner be appropriated for development aid and humanitarian aid next year. That is one percent of GNP. The government has established that as a goal.

Last year the Willoch government had problems when it deviated from the recommendations of the Brundtland government for a slight increase over one percent of the GNP. It remains to be seen if there will be the same problems with the middle parties this year.

#### Most to Foreign Aid

The total recommended appropriation under the Foreign Ministry [UD] increased by almost 381.1 million kroner to 4,368.2 million next year. Most of the increase came in foreign aid; 359.7 million kroner more next year gives an appropriation of 3,996.9 million kroner. The last 3.1 million kroner exceeds the budget of the Ministry of Trade.

The appropriation for overseas purposes, operation of UD and foreign missions is recommended to be increased from 349.9 to 371.3 million kroner. Among other things that will pay for two new overseas missions: embassies in Dublin and Kuala Lumpur.

The Norwegian contribution to foreign aid will take place in accordance with the same guidelines which have been followed during past years and which the Storting has approved. But more will be given to private organizations, increasing from 100 to 150 million.

This year there have been large losses in guarantees for export to developing countries. They can reach 210 million kroner, but within the framework of foreign aid they must actually cover 150 million kroner.

#### Svalbard Communications is Concern

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 6 Oct 82 p 16

[Text] Svalbard's budget is increased to 58 million kroner, from 50 million. That means the status quo in activities on the islands.

It was pointed out that the transportation service has been difficult, and will be further worsened when the sailings of the steamers to Svalbard are discontinued next year. A solution is being worked on and budgeted with a certain possibility for economic support.

#### Labor Party Organ Criticizes Budget

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 8 Oct 82 p 4

[Editorial: "Tug of War Over Budget"]

[Text] The first Storting reactions to the national budget have come about where expected, perhaps a little sharper around the edges than what was expected in advance. Both the Christian People's Party [KrF] and the Center Party [SP] have emphasized their strong opposition to the main element in the government's proposal--tax reductions of between 1.2 and 1.5 billion kroner.

SP wants a better district profile, KrF wants to invest more to provide jobs and strengthen families with children. But both parties make it clear that the budget balance should not be weakened. So there is just one solution--to reduce the proposed tax reductions. The middle parties have indicated that automatic tax increases must be avoided, but that there is no need for real tax reductions. To prevent such automatic increases it is necessary to arrange for 2.7 billion kroner. This can be heavy enough for SP and KrF, and the probability that the two parties will agree to further reductions seems at this time rather unlikely.

The parliamentary leader of KrF, Kjell Magne Bondevik, has gone so far as to say that all conservatives must provide a solution which follows the framework of their previous combined proposal, and gives a basis for negotiations. In the combined proposal the Conservatives did not pledge to do anything more than preventing automatic tax increases.

The same Bondevik has indicated that there can be no need to increase appropriations for defense at a time when all other sectors must put up with stagnation or retreat. Here the KrF leader sticks a knife in the heart of another of the government's key points.

In the light of bad poll figures the middle parties are now in great need, and they require skillful political advances this fall. They can start this by pressing the government on budget matters, and they know that they are dealing with a negotiating adversary which is willing to stretch far without an ultimatum being delivered. Even though Prime Minister Willoch must deal with two of the main elements in the budget proposal--tax reductions and defense increases--he is willing to go unbelievably far before the ghost of a crisis is conjured up in the corridors of Lovebakken. Experience from the Conservatives' first year of government shows clearly that the party is willing to endure many thrashings and defeats in the Storting before there is talk of the famous parliamentary consequences. The first statements from the prime minister and the finance minister after the budget was presented show clearly that the government will follow the tactic that it has already set up for itself--to cling to the cabinet positions regardless of how much that goes against principles and honor.

And we can already predict how the Conservatives at a later crossroads will meet the voters, when the party is confronted with its daring tax promises. "We fought for tax reductions, we put forth concrete proposals for it, but the Storting would not go along with us," will be the refrain.

How the bourgeois parties will make it up between themselves in the budget office is only one side of the parliamentary tug of war this fall.

How KrF and SP will react to the Labor Party's alternative budget will be another gymnastic exercise of great interest. It is fairly clear that the proposal the Labor Party will present in the last half of October will be closer to the desires of the middle parties than the conservative budget. Here they will find the answer to their wishes not to give real tax reductions and to accept that the defense should endure being the object for some of the same moderation as the rest of society. Here they will also find a proposal which to a much greater extent focuses on the need for full employment.

The two bourgeois middle parties will therefore once more come to the famous tight spot that they have been in for a long time.

They must fulfill their duties as support parties, and at the same time recognize that the economic policies of the Labor Party are closest to their hearts.

When the status of the budget bill is decided in the middle of December, we believe that these will be the conclusions: The government survived by undertaking a number of compromises, while the middle parties once more left the game while losing, to the benefit of the voters, because as usual they fell between two stools.

## BUDGET PROPOSAL ANTICIPATES CONTINUED SLOW GROWTH

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Oct 82 p 17

[Article: "Stagnation for Norwegian Economy"]

[Text] After zero growth in the current year, the situation is such that a modest growth is expected for the Norwegian economy of only 0.8 percent next year. The competitive ability of Norwegian industry will worsen by over 4 percent from 1981 to 1982, but last fall's devaluation of the Norwegian krone will improve the possibilities for a strengthening of competitive ability next year, according to the national budget of 1983.

The total available real income for Norway, meaning the income which is available for distribution to different groups and sectors, will in 1983 be almost 3 percent lower than in 1981.

The government expects a certain improvement in international business during next year. The total import growth for Norway's trading partners is estimated at 4.75 percent, something which can give a basis for a volume growth in Norway's traditional goods export of 5 percent in 1983 against a decline of 3 percent this year.

Industrial production shows a decline of about one and one-half percent this year, and a growth of only one-half percent is expected for next year. Investment in industry shows a strong drop both this year and next, but the government estimates that the decline in 1983 can be limited to 10 percent.

The growth in employment measured in work years is expected to increase by 0.5 percent. With continued use of labor market actions, especially in the first quarter of next year, it is estimated that the average unemployment for 1983 can be held to about the same level as in 1982, or about 2.25 percent of the labor force.

Private consumption is expected to increase by 1.5 percent, while the public sector's use of goods and services will increase by 1 percent in 1983.

Oil and gas export will reach 51 billion kroner in 1983 after including a security margin of 15 percent. That is about the same as in 1982. The authorities are using an oil price of \$35.50 per barrel for their prognoses, and an average dollar exchange rate of 6.55 kroner.

In 1982 there will be a surplus in the Norwegian overseas economy of nearly 6 billion provided that oil and gas export goes normally for the remainder of the year. Next year, however, it looks as though there will be a deficit of 3.7 billion kroner.

For the entire period from 1982 to 1985 we will be operating with a total national income from oil and gas activity of 105 billion kroner. In the long term program of the previous government the corresponding estimate was 170 billion kroner, which was later adjusted downward to 70 billion kroner last spring.

9287

CSO: 3639/8



## LIBERAL PARTY CONGRESS ELECTS NEW VICE-CHAIRMAN, SETS COURSE

## Hanne Severinsen Elected Vice-Chairman

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] Not until after three votings at the national congress of the Liberal Party did it become clear that Hanne Severinsen will take over the post of vice-chairman after Minister of Energy Knud Enggaard. The two first votings were won by Minister of the Interior Britta Schall Holberg, with Hanne Severinsen on the second place and Knud Enggaard on the third place. Knud Enggaard, on the other hand, was the one who got the votes in the election within the executive committee.

Hanne Severinsen was elected vice-chairman of the national organization with 319 out of 617 votes.

In the first voting, 630 votes were cast, of which Britta Schall Holberg got 247, Hanne Severinsen 200, and Knud Enggaard 183. In the second voting, 614 cast their votes. Here, Britta Schall Holberg stabilized her lead with 256 votes, Hanne Severinsen got 214 and Knud Enggaard 144.

"If the two other candidates had not been ministers, Britta would have been elected instead of me," says Hanne Severinsen, adding that the national congress clearly wanted a woman as vice-chairman and a non-minister.

Hanne Severinsen tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that she will use her vice-chairmanship to relieve the re-elected party chairman, Henning Christophersen in the area of organization, and she will, in addition, seek to induce the members of the Liberal Party to become more aggressive and active in the political debate.

## Increase in Party Membership Reported

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Sep 82 p 8

[Text] The total membership of the Liberal Party's constituency organizations has increased by nearly 3,000 members, the largest increase for more than 25 years.

The delegates at the national congress of the Liberal Party clearly were happy that the party has again got into a government position. With eight ministries, a number of which are extremely important, the Liberal Party has again mounted the box of the government waggon. A relief after the disappointment caused the party by the election last year and which was further reinforced by opinion polls prior to the change of government on 10 September of this year.

The desire to contribute to the policy debate was great, and there were no less than fifty speeches during the general policy debate of the Sunday. As far as slips of the tongue were concerned, the delegates assembled noted that one of the party's representatives expressed the desire that Henning Christophersen as the finance minister of the four-leaf clover government will have a plan ready in his capacity of "the government's Egon Olsen."

This friendly piece of advice was, undoubtedly, well meant. However, the characteristic feature of Egon of the Olsen Gang was that his plans always failed.

### The Fundamental Philosophy

The fact that the Liberal Party did not get the prime minister post did not seem to worry the delegates assembled too much. One speaker discussed the subject, saying: "We would have preferred seeing Henning Christophersen as prime minister. However, we are a broad-minded party which can live with the fact that Poul Schluter became prime minister, and that it thus was the largest opposition party which got this post--We do not want Swedish conditions in Denmark."

With clear reference to speakers who had talked about the new government's "three conservative-minded parties" with which the broad-minded Liberal Party has formed a government, or who had pointed out that "this government is not a government of nonsocialist parties but a nonsocialist government with the participation of the Liberal Party," the party chairman, Henning Christophersen, said on the relationship with the other parties of the coalition government:

"The task is not now to seek out differences between the four parties. We must not use our efforts on that. It will not benefit any of the four parties to embark on a solo race. We must be ready to make compromises and--said with the words of Niels Helveg Petersen--to aim high and far ahead."

In his introduction to the policy debate, lasting for 45 minutes, Henning Christophersen did not reveal much concrete information as to what the government will have to offer at the opening of the Folketing next week, but he announced a "change of course in Danish political history and not just an interlude."

The basic philosophy of the government's actions is that there is a need for "very considerable cuts in public expenditure, but that is only half the work because that alone will lead to enormous increases in the unemployment rate and slumps within the trades and industries. The government will have to stimulate investments and production to improve the employment situation and the public finances. And no trade or industry may expect the government to put a safety net under it. Each trade and industry will have to prove its viability itself."

On the question of membership, Kurt Sørensen, party secretary, stated that after a canvassing campaign last year it increased by 2952 members to 95,807. He found this result the more impressive, considering the fact that in 1981 the Liberal Party lost 5,000-6,000 members, so that, in actual fact, the party had obtained 8,000-9,000 new members. The percentage of the electorate of the Liberal Party now organized in constituency organizations is 27.1 percent.

Until nearly a generation ago, upwards of 25 percent of the Danish population belonged to constituency organizations. At certain points, nearly 50 percent of the voters of the Liberal Party have been organized.

#### Christophersen Addresses Congress

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Sep 82 p 8

[Text] "The year 1983 will become the most difficult year for the Danes in many years. It cannot be any different. Regardless of what we do. There is no reason to conceal this fact." This statement was made by Minister of Finance Henning Christophersen in his opening speech yesterday at the national congress of the Liberal Party.

Minister of Finance Henning Christophersen established that a basis must be created in 1983 for renewed economic progress.

"No Dane will escape carrying his share of the burden. Nor does anybody need to fear that he will be forgotten. Everybody will have to be prepared to make a change. The enterprises will, in the long run, have to stand on their own feet. Nor may any other groups expect any longer that the state has got unlimited resources at its disposal," the chairman of the Liberal Party, Henning Christophersen, said at the national congress.

The minister of finance stressed that the Liberal Party will not accept that Denmark loses the respect of other countries or that the Danes lose their own self-respect. On the question of government cooperation, he said:

"If we solve this task, posterity will recall it with pride. If we do not succeed, we shall go down in history as those who failed in a crucial situation," said Henning Christophersen.

#### Government Stimulation of Investment Urged

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE AFTEN in Danish 1 Oct 82 p 10

[Article by Hans J. Poulsen]

[Text] The Liberal Party was the first one of the new government's four parties to hold its national congress. It took place in a relaxed atmosphere, and the impression was that the party was gratified that it had obtained a solid placement on the ministerial benches. If it is up to the chairman, the stage will now be set for a change of course and not just for an interlude in Danish political history.

The composition of the delegates assembled showed, incidentally, that the Liberal Party in the course of the last few years has undergone a rejuvenation process which has also caused women to become involved within the party. The Liberal Party is no longer any "farmers' party."

This became evident when the party congress elected Hanne Severinsen, 38, a secondary school teacher, Copenhagen, vice-chairman instead of Knud Enggaard. He offered his candidacy for election together with another minister, Britta Schall Holberg. Arguments to the effect that the two government members ought to spend all their efforts within their respective ministries came to carry great weight in the debate. However, the same argument played no role when the quiet and hard-working Knud Enggaard 4 years ago was elected vice-chairman of the Liberal Party. At the time, he was minister of the interior in the Social Democratic-Liberal coalition government.

7262

CSO: 3613/9

## COMMENTATOR SEES CONTINUING PROBLEMS IN U.S.-FRG RELATIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Sep 82 p 12

[Article by Jan Reifenberg: "A CDU Chancellor Will Have No Easier Time. U.S./German Relations With Respect to a Change of Government in Bonn"]

[Text] Current differences of opinion between Washington and Bonn are likely to continue even after a change of government in West Germany. Since Reagan's political advisers, as well as the President himself, are close in terms of their ideological background to the present [late September] opposition in the Federal Republic, this could lead to specific demands on the part of Washington; the fulfillment of U.S. desires on specific issues will be expected from its partners in Bonn. This will be especially true with regard to relations with the Soviet Union and the possibility of tighter credit restrictions for Moscow and the countries of the Warsaw Pact.

The causes for a series of predictable differences of opinion between Washington and Bonn are not to be found in the personalities of the heads of these two governments alone. Instead, they are related to the changes which have ensued since the time when the Federal Republic was regarded as the United States' "star pupil," and that country was the undisputed major power of the West. That generation of U.S. political leaders which created the special relationship with Bonn has now been almost totally succeeded by others. Truman, Eisenhower, Acheson and Dulles are dead. John J. McCloy is a highly respected old man who, though his counsel is still sought, no longer has any decisive influence in Washington. Domestic developments in the United States over the past decade and a half offer an explanation for the fact that the economic, political and intellectual "establishment" based on the East Coast, which in former times determined Washington's foreign and national security policy, no longer wields the power that it held from the 1940's to the beginning of the 1970's. The shift of political power to the West, Southwest and South of the great continent did not begin with the administration of Ronald Reagan. Today, California, Texas and the "New South" count more heavily than does the former "power strip" between Boston and Washington.

The bitter experiences of Vietnam and Watergate, the gradual loss of its former nuclear monopoly ever since the Cuban missile crisis some 20 years ago, have not yet been overcome. Closely associated with the country's still

unresolved economic crisis is Reagan's attempt to create a posture of credible strength. Ever since John F. Kennedy's discovery that this world consists not of black and white, but "shades of gray;" ever since the Republican Eisenhower, late in his administration, came to a similar realization, resulting in a dialogue with the other superpower, there has evolved under Reagan a reversion to more simplistic responses: basically the world, in this President's eyes, does consist of good and evil. Communism and the Soviet Union are reckoned among the latter.

Reagan's inmost convictions, acquired in his young days as a leader of Hollywood's screen actors guild, concerning communism are unlikely to change because they proceed from genuine persuasion. "Most people make the mistake of believing that Reagan actually doesn't believe all that he's saying...and that's a great mistake," is the warning expressed by those familiar with the strong will, even the occasional stubbornness hidden behind the charming exterior of the President. This linear mode of thought is unaffected by the subtly expressed reservations of Europeans on such questions as the gas pipeline and credit issues. While Reagan has taken note of the contrary views of his alliance partners, these have so far not been able to modify his decisions once they have been made--or even his prejudices. Close associates of Reagan, such as Judge Clark, his national security adviser, or Edwin Meese and Michael Deaver, share his views. And, until now, Secretary of State Schultz has given no real evidence that he would deviate on any issue from his undivided loyalty to the President--which is seen as the foundation of his position.

The United States' European partners--in particular a new West German government headed by the CDU--could hardly make any greater mistake than to try to hail a sympathetic Schultz as the "advocate" of their particular concerns in Washington and to place their hopes upon achieving any change in principles by way of the secretary of state: it was this that led to Haig's downfall.

Those German officials and political leaders who can claim to be particularly well informed concerning the United States, often fall victim to an understandable mistake, yet one which no longer corresponds to the realities of that country: they are still linked to the influence of an "establishment" familiar to them and in many cases based on their postwar university exchange participation, ranging from the universities and the institutes in the vicinity of Boston to the New York circle based on the periodical "Foreign Affairs," to the almost obligatory visits to such apparently sympathetic friends as Henry Kissinger. It is here that they will listen to criticism of the purported primitivism of the Reagan administration, receive assurances that this is only a transitional stage, bemoan the lack of understanding for the complexity of German concerns and then return home with the comfortable feeling--and the intellectual laurels of the powers of yesteryear, usually the Democrats and the liberals--that Washington will soon return to the proper course for Europe, for Ostpolitik and detente. What they fail to see, however, is the fact that the United States, today more than ever before, begins "west of the Alleghanies," that in the Great Plains of the Middle West, in the South, along the Pacific Coast, far more

U.S. policy is created--and with that, decisive influence upon the incumbent President--than in the past.

Many German visitors of high rank and reputation regard it as pointless, as a waste of time, even beneath their intellectual dignity, to visit the "heartland" of the United States or ascertain for themselves that in California, Oregon and Washington, attention is as much directed westward across the Pacific as it is to the East across the Atlantic. The certainty with which such people, concerned almost exclusively with German issues, assume that Washington has basically nothing else to do but to adapt to Western European concerns, their absolute confidence that U.S. forces in Europe will continue to stay at their present levels of strength, at best speak for their provincialism. At worst, they reveal their incapacity to conceive of the obligations and the politicostrategic priorities of a world power. And all this after more than 30 years of close association and the constant back and forth commuting of countless thousands.

A CDU Federal Chancellor would be well advised to be aware that the United States is undergoing a process of far-reaching change and that the significant wave of immigration today is coming from Latin America, particularly from the Caribbean basin and Mexico, and from the countries of Asia, that the Congress in Washington is a component of the administration and particularly that a totally new generation of U.S. politicians proposes--for the sake of bringing their own house in economic order--to take a hard and critical look at its Atlantic relationships. Yet, as a result of West Germany's historical evolution and its geo-strategic location, Congress can also not avoid pressing specific concerns of the European Community against Washington's wishes when dealing with the Soviet Union and East Europe. The natural gas pipeline is only the beginning of problems which are becoming visible on the political horizon since, with the signing of the NATO rearmament resolution, the time is approaching when--unless a compromise can be reached between the two superpowers at the Geneva talks--the deployment of short-range mobile missiles and the Pershing 2 missiles will begin.

Official Washington has been silent on the issue of the crisis in Bonn. Everyone is too much aware that any statement can be wrongly interpreted or seen as a gross intrusion into German domestic affairs.

Nonetheless, events are being followed with considerable attention. American observers, who for years have come to know Chancellor as an often difficult but always important partner and who have come to respect his capacities, have no doubts about the importance of the break. Their intimate knowledge of the evolution of relationships with Bonn enables them to perceive the significance of the current breakup of the social-liberal coalition; they will familiarize themselves with the change without any hint of wishful thinking. They also know that the number of genuine, experienced European specialists in the concerned U.S. cabinet departments is rapidly decreasing and that the number of such people, who are really familiar with the German question, can be counted on the fingers of both hands and that a psychologically important gap between the "pioneer days" of the alliance and the present successors is yawning wide and that it is still not clear who--

on the U.S. side--will fill it. They are therefore correct in assuming that a new German chancellor--despite superficial ideological agreement with the circles surrounding Reagan--will by no means have an easier time of things than did his predecessor who, despite his perfect command of English and Anglo-American modes of thought, in being able to second-guess U.S. response.

9878

CSO: 3103/686



## HAMBURG SPD-GAL TALKS BREAK DOWN, NEW ELECTIONS PLANNED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 11 Oct 82 p 142

[Text] The negotiations between the Social Democrats and the GAL in Hamburg have failed. Now there is a clamor for new elections.

After 8 rounds of negotiations lasting a total of 50 hours, the issue had run its course. "We did our duty," Hamburg's SPD-mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi announced last Friday, "evidently this is not going to work."

Four months after the Hamburg election to the parliament (CDU: 56 seats, SPD: 55, GAL: 9) the "question of historic dimension" (GAL politician Christian Schmidt) was decided. An alliance between Red and Green, which would have been possible for the first time in a West German federal state, will not come into existence for the time being.

Now the Social Democrats themselves want to introduce the motion of the CDU, to vote for the dissolution of the parliament and bring about new elections "in accordance with Article II of the Hamburg Constitution"--a motion which the SPD together with the GAL had still turned down on Wednesday before last. "The citizens of Hamburg," in the words of Dohnanyi Friday night after a session of the Hamburg executive committee, "must decide anew."

Within half a year the votes are to be brought to the ballot box for the second time--a first in the history of the FRG. If an agreement concerning the dissolution of the parliament is reached among the fractions this week, "then there shall be new elections within 60 days", as prescribed by the Constitution--probably in mid-December.

To be sure, there has been "a majority this side of the Union" in Hamburg (SPD chairman Willy Brandt), but apparently it is not yet capable of governing. "The GAL," Dohnanyi at once placed the blame, "has refused to go along with the policy of reform, it has failed."

The GAL sees it precisely the other way around: The Hamburg SPD, they say, is "not prepared" to execute "a turn in its rabid policy of economy to the detriment of the socially weak." The "substantive content" of the position

paper presented by Dohnani last Thursday, according to GAL deputy Thea Bock, is "insufficient for the toleration of the SPD-minority senate."

To be sure, Social Democrats and GAL-members had come closer to one another in some questions of fact, above all concerning environmental protection, from keeping the air clean to restoring the Elbe [River]. But on decisive points the standpoints remained invariably controversial.

The SPD insists on an expansion of the harbor, for which centuries-old villages along the Elbe are to be sacrificed. The GAL rejects these plans because in its view the harbor expansion is unnecessary given the stagnating cargo turnover.

The SPD regards the electric power from the nuclear power plants in Stade and Brunsbuetel as "indispensable" and wants to connect the nearly ecompleted Kruemmel power plant to the power grid next year as well. Only in the case of the nuclear reactor being built in Brokdorf is there to be a bail-out from nuclear energy. The GAL continues to insist on Hamburg's total relinquishment of nuclear power.

The SPD regards the "monopoly of force on the part of the state" as "not relinquishable"; in the future, too, the occupation of houses will "not be tolerated." The GAL demands that occupied houses must not be cleared and that those who have occupied houses must not be held criminally responsible.

That there is now such a clamor for new elections in the near future is, to be sure, not only a result of the substantive differences and the psychological fears of coming into contact among the gym shoe parliamentarians and the confessed comrades with trade union pin and Prinz-Heinrich-cap. After the overthrow of the chancellor in Bonn and the surprisingly good showing in Hessen, right-wing comrades in Hamburg are putting their money "on the sympathy bonus" (GAL-Schmidt) and believe the SPD capable of becoming the strongest party again in a new election round--a position from which it was dislodged for the first time since 1946 in June by the Christian Democrats.

The process and outcome of the months-long debate on the red-green pact have shown that within the foreseeable future there will be no uniform position within the SPD vis-a-vis the Greens.

While party chief Willy Brandt in the evening of the election in Hessen still recommended "to measure" whether Social Democratic reform policy could be conducted with the new political force, ex-chancellor Helmut Schmidt gave a dressing-down to the GAL last Thursday in the Bavarian election campaign: "The Greens are not fit for a coalition."

To be sure, there is not much reason to believe that the second round of elections will lead to a majority that is capable of governing, unless a Grand Coalition comes into being which thus far has been rejected by the SPD, but which CDU-candidate for mayor Walther Leisler Kiep does not exclude. ("After all, we cannot go to the polls three times"), and which Dohnanyi rejects: "Not with me."

To begin with, all expect gains in votes. Kiep is getting up his courage because the Union in the meantime is furnishing the chancellor, even if in the person of Helmut Kohl. The SPD is banking on comrade trend, which after the change of chancellors is once again going its way. The GAL believes that increased displeasure with the parties will drive more protest voters into its ranks. GAL-deputy Regula Schmidt-Bott: "It was the SPD, after all, which bailed out, not we."

This at least is true, and the counsel came from Hamburg's most prominent Social Democrat. When 7,000 loyal supporters of the chancellor a week ago Saturday assembled with torches in front of the residence of the toppled head of government, Helmut Schmidt admonished his comrades: "Now you will have to work quickly for new elections."

8970

CSO: 3620/31

## GREENS REACT TO BRANDT'S OFFER OF COALITION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Oct 82 pp 134, 136

[Article by SPIEGEL staffer Marie-Luise Hauch on the Greens' executive council: "Fifty Kilometers From Bonn"]

[Text] Dieter Burgmann, party chairman of the Greens, had a problem making himself heard above the sound of the Volkswagen bus motor. "I hereby convene today's meeting of the board," he intoned formally. The first topic on the agenda: a protest demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy.

Crowded together on the three benches of the mini-bus, the six members of the eco-party were continuing their session which had been interrupted the previous evening, almost as if there had been no elections in Hesse; as if it were the most natural thing in the world to hold their session on the express highway between Frankfurt and Bonn.

Statements on the issue were made and carefully recorded in the minutes, motions and counter motions put forward or amended. About half past nine, Lukas Beckmann, general secretary of the Greens, became nervous. Would it not make more sense, he reminded his colleagues who were not deeply enmeshed in their discussion, to talk about the press conference to which the bus's passengers were now headed. The Greens had invited journalists to a meeting at 11:00 am to give their views on the elections in Hesse.

Fifty kilometers short of Bonn they finally got to the point which could be decisive for their party's future: Willy Brandt's offer for a new coalition to the left of the CDU.

Opinions were widely divided among the bus's occupants, who were the targets of friendly waves from passing motorists, as to the reception that the "embrace strategy" (Burgmann) of the chairman of the Social Democrats would find among their voters.

"I know," prophesied Petra Kelly, for 7 years a member of the SPD, "how much that is going to impress the Social Democrats."

Burgmann was somewhat more composed in his assessment of Willy Brandt's expression of sympathy that had been directed over television the evening

before to the friends of peace and eco-freaks: "Our strength is not SPD protest voters, but the ecologically sensitized voters."

Then, however, the alternative bus trippers soon came to an agreement as to how they would respond to the Social Democrats, at least for the moment: they resolved to give the cold shoulder to the SPD at the press conference; they wanted to make clear the distance that separated them from the party establishment.

Their concern lest they be swallowed up by the SPD which, now free of the responsibility for forming a government, had turned its attention toward Green themes, had already occupied the executive council during its two-day special session at Frankfurt during the last weekend in September.

Armed with sleeping bags, valises and sacks of apples, Greens had arrived from every corner of the country. Unlike the established parties, the executive council sessions of the Greens are open to all members (unless they happen to be held in busses).

For 2 days the rank-and-file and elected Greens tried to work out a definition of their own political standpoint. Part of the agenda was a discussion of basic principles on the issue of whether the eco-party, after the breakup of the Bonn coalition, still had any chance for survival or even a right to its own existence. The danger, as it was seen from Brandt's words: an opposition SPD would be poaching among Green voters--successfully, if Brandt were once again to take the lead in his own party. Another danger for the nature lovers: if voters' emotions for or against "traitors" were appealed to, they could lose their own supporters.

An object lesson in support of this thesis was offered as early as the Hesse elections. It was only as a result of absentee ballots cast before the breakup of the SPD/FDP coalition, that the Greens were able to garner their 8 percent.

In spite of this evidence, the eco-politicians are convinced that they have a solid core constituency which amounts to about 6 percent of the electorate. In addition, maintains Burgmann, "the SPD will have a hard time cashing in on the bonus that they picked up from the split in Bonn."

The chief hope of the Green executive council: the SPD, even in opposition, will not be able to change either its energy policy or its rearmament and national security policy; it would still have to take account of the party's right wing and stick to its "this and other thing too" resolutions.

The decisive difference between them and the established Bonn parties is seen by the Greens in what they purport to be their alternative political standards: through their rotation principle calling for switching their elected delegates after 2 years in office, they want to prevent their elected deputies from becoming detached parliamentary tacticians. That and the prohibition laid down in their by-laws, barring deputies and members of the executive council from accepting advisory board membership or consultant

contracts from any group whatsoever, is intended to prevent conflict of interests even at the lowest level.

Nonetheless, the anxiety was evident at the Frankfurt meeting that their election success--the Greens are now represented in five Land legislatures--could cramp the style of this distinctiveness. "More and more we're losing our spontaneity," complained Petra Kelly.

The loss of alternatives also became clear in Bonn. In the bus, council member Ulrich Tost was still able to wisecrack, "maybe we could invite Brandt to come over to the Greens."

No such offers were made at the press conference. All of them were most serious--and distinguished from established party professionals only by their attire.

9878

CSO: 3620/8

## BRANDT ON FUTURE OF SPD, GREENS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Oct 82 pp 33, 36, 39, 42, 44, 46, 49

/Interview with Willy Brandt, SPD chairman/

/Text/ SPIEGEL: Herr Brandt, after the loss of power in Bonn, comrade Trend has returned to the fold--in Hesse, Bavaria and also in public opinion polls. Is that a collective yearning for opposition? Is it merely an emotional shift after the "reason" in Bonn, or are we already seeing the emergence of that majority left of the Union you mentioned after the Hesse election?

Brandt: To begin with it is not only Hesse and Bavaria, albeit Hesse was particularly impressive because many voters had second thoughts there within only 8-10 days and behaved very differently than many old political pros believed.

These elections have demonstrated that the Social Democrats are not overwhelmed by the changed situation in Bonn--on the contrary, they feel some elation. This is also reflected in a considerable rise in membership in these past few weeks. I felt it at meetings in recent weeks, an unusually large number of young people attended. Whether it is possible already to explain all this with any precision must, however, be doubtful.

I am very pleased that the SPD does not have to cross the valley of shadows but has a decent runway for its transition to the new role. I do not believe that the people who are now committing themselves are to any great extent glad to see the party in opposition. I am far more impressed by those who, by their commitment, wish to help make sure that not too much time elapses before Social Democrats have once again a real chance to assume the responsibilities of government in Bonn.

SPIEGEL: Are you reluctant to call on comrade Trend because you doubt that his favors are constant?

Brandt: I firmly believe that this is not a momentary resurgence. On the other hand I am experienced enough to realize that it is fatal to put committed emotional movements on ice. An equilibrium tends to be established. However, this time the question arises whether the reaction of the past few weeks may not carry over to the election for a new Bundestag--if the Federal Government finally spells out what it intends to do.

SPIEGEL: Herbert Wehner forecast 15 years of opposition. You seem not to consider this a foregone conclusion?

Brandt: We older hands should be somewhat cautious about forecasts for a period that will no longer bear our imprint. We live in a fast moving age. I am telling you, the way things are nobody can exclude the possibility that, in the case of March elections, the Bundestag will end up with only two parties. Nor can we exclude the possibility--and I will certainly do everything in my power--that the SPD will emerge the stronger of the two great parties in the new Bundestag.

You know from your own public opinion poll that, while the CDU/CSU now holds 49 percent, the SPD has already recovered to 42 percent. We are all aware that it fell considerably below that percentage at one point. Experience has taught us that a 7 percent difference does not necessarily imply that the stronger party at the beginning of an election campaign will still be such when the votes are counted.

SPIEGEL: Do you intend to organize the majority left of the CDU? Are you thinking coalition or cooperation when calling on the SPD (as you did on television after the Hesse election) to join "with the social liberals from the FDP, with blue and white collar workers...and the many people involved in the peace movement, the environmental movement, all of whom also intend to shape social democracy?"

Brandt: We did not want our present role in Bonn, it was forced on us. It does, though, give us an opportunity to close ranks with blue and white collar workers, especially their union spokesmen as well as their spokesmen in factories and offices. That is the beginning and the end. It is where Social Democrats come from, and they continue to derive their crucial strength from this closeness.

Secondly I said that German social democracy has always included self-employed people and members of the liberal bourgeoisie. Nobody knows what will become of the liberal party, the party liberal group. The SPD is certainly open to those who no longer feel at home there.

Thirdly there is absolutely no reason for the SPD not to be attentive and receptive to events in the peace and environmental movements. The Social Democrats do not offer coalitions. They try to see what issues may reasonably find a place with them or lean on them.

SPIEGEL: You used the term "join."

Brandt: Quite so. Future developments will show whether possibly something remains and gets its own representation in parliament for a certain time. I did not offer any coalition but merely expanded slightly on Helmut Schmidt's words on 1 October, in his last address as chancellor: "When people are once elected, they must not be sent to Coventry. We must in every single instance observe how they adapt, whether we may do something together with them as is the case in some cities, or whether nothing can be done with them."

SPIEGEL: You are thinking of Hamburg where coalition talks between SPD mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi and the GAL [Greens/Alternatives] have failed?



Brandt: The events of recent months in Hamburg were of great importance. While others tended to gloat and comment that it served Dohnanyi right, I insist that it was a constructive attempt and has met with much appreciation.

The talks failed because the GAL spokesmen found the hurdles they had themselves erected to be unsurmountable. However, if we take a closer look at Dohnanyi's 33-page report about his talks with the GAL, we see that not all the challenges presented him were uninteresting for us Social Democrats. Not everything went in one ear and out the other.

SPIEGEL: Helmut Schmidt rejected your appeal for "joining." The diary (he approved) of his press spokesman Klaus Boelling states that Schmidt fears a "relapse into a romanticism that might at some time have dangerous consequences."

Brandt: Let me first of all tell you something that is not yet public knowledge but must be taken into account if you want to have a comprehensive overview. The day after last June's Hamburg election, early Monday morning, the following people met in my Bonn office: The Hamburg SPD Land chairman and chief mayor, Federal Chancellor and deputy chairman Schmidt and party chairman Willy Brandt. We discussed how best to handle the situation.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt was the first to say--exactly in conformity with my own opinion--we must not just give up, dissolve the assembly or immediately hold new elections. That would be tantamount with insulting the voters who had just voted and should not be told immediately to do it again. We said: Let's hear it from the other two fractions and talks with the Greens also about the events that just occurred. There was no difference of opinion whatever.

SPIEGEL: How do you explain Schmidt's change of heart?

Brandt: The problem is this: How to translate into practical politics that which is right, that which the peace movement and the environmentalists want?

It is bound to be a matter of the utmost concern to us that independent experts now affirm that drinking water supplies in the FRG are more toxic, at least in many of our cities, than in other European countries and substantially increase the danger of cancer. While campaigning in the Bavarian election I saw people cry in the Bavarian forests, because they observe the forest dying as a result of acid rain. An old German proverb says: When the forest dies, the people die. This may sound like rhetoric, but once we need to deal with the actual problems, romanticism simply does not come into it anymore.

SPIEGEL: We rather doubt that the SPD, a major popular party, will succeed in credibly presenting these problems. Are not the smaller parties better fitted to concentrate on environmental issues?

Brandt: This assumption does merit discussion. If, as sometimes happens, we perceive that this orientation runs afoul of our main strength, that is the broad strata of blue and white collar workers, and that we are deemed to be going too far too fast in our relations with the new groups, I am bound to give precedence to our responsibility vis-a-vis the broad strata of blue and white collar workers.

I am attempting, though, to persuade people that we have here something of an artificial antithesis. I am interested on the soil of social democracy to lead toward one another the greatest spread of issues and people. I do not exclude the possibility that others who do not believe this may come together for a shorter or longer time. If that is so, we must deal with them in the assemblies.

SPIEGEL: You may indeed soon be confronted with this task, should elections take place in March 1983.

Brandt: If Bundestag elections were to be held today, I am sure the FDP would not get in. It is a matter of conjecture whether the Greens could manage it. It cannot be the responsibility of the SPD chairman to promote other parties; it is his responsibility to adopt an attitude toward them where they exist. In Hamburg, where an election is due earlier--unless the situation changes fundamentally--Dohnanyi has an excellent chance of overtaking the CDU.

SPIEGEL: We find it hard to imagine that Helmut Schmidt--whom you champion as top candidate--can attract people who oppose missiles and nuclear power plants.

Brandt: You know, it is wrong to forget that he of whom you are speaking and who, I hope, will lead the SPD into the Bundestag election, did much to help lead the Hamburg SPD and later the party at federal level out of a certain impasse.

SPIEGEL: What impasse?

Brandt: Just think of the SPD's expansion into the liberal bourgeoisie, the technical intelligentsia. Moreover, by his speech of 1 October he confirmed that he does not have a closed mind. Everybody has his own way of tackling problems, but there are no actual conflicts.

SPIEGEL: On 1 October Schmidt pronounced one sentence on the topic of missiles, that seems highly unlikely to ever be accepted by the Greens: "If, however, despite the best efforts of our American friends, the negotiations should fail, we do need an appropriate counterbalance to the Soviet SS-20 missiles that threaten us."

Brandt: It is not my business to serve as interpreter for somebody else. I merely want to point out that his words are based on the logic of government policy as summarized by him that day. They arise from the assessment of a highly experienced man who says: If anything at all is to emerge in Geneva, it will not do so until the very last round. I therefore must not a priori remove a card from the deck.

If the superpowers conclude that it is not reasonable to separate the negotiations about intercontinental and medium range missiles, they will have to allow themselves some more time. That, though, is a topic that was not even discussed by Helmut Schmidt that day.

He wants exactly the same as I. He wants to do what he can to see that, on the Soviet side also, the conditions are created to make superfluous the emplacement of new nuclear missiles on the soil of the FRG.

SPIEGEL: Do you seriously think that the SPD will be able to attract Green or peace movement voters in spring 1983 unless you obligate yourself that the SPD will in any case reject the stationing of American missiles in Central Europe at its November 1983 congress?

Brandt: I must and will point out to them how seriously the SPD takes this matter, the goals of the Munich party congress resolution--after all, that is quite unambiguous--and the sound reasons that caused the majority of my party to study and consider it once more when the Geneva negotiations can be assessed.

SPIEGEL: And that will not be possible until after the new election on 6 March. Can you possibly expect to obtain an absolute majority if your top candidate Schmidt scares off the followers of the peace movement?

Brandt: None of us knows whether this will be the issue to make all the difference in the end. In any case, the SPD is for Helmut Schmidt.

In our world we, whether as individuals or communities, can achieve only approximations of our intentions. It remains to be seen how we will manage that at early elections. I want to attract topics and people as far as they can be attracted.

SPIEGEL: For the sake of its credibility, would not social democracy have to seek out someone other than Schmidt in order to make people believe in the open line you consider correct?

Brandt: It seems to me that I am the wrong person to provide you with a sufficiently flexible partner to the conversation. You are addressing yourself to someone who is rather more circumspect than others but very plainly told the entrenched Chancellor Helmut Schmidt: "We must appeal to you once more." In public I did that very cautiously indeed, and for a good reason.

Still, I have not left the slightest doubt that we must ask him because, in the case of new elections early next year, people will not be able to distinguish between them and those proposed by the former Federal Chancellor for this year. People will therefore have a hard time understanding that a candidacy promised for this year no longer applies early next year.

SPIEGEL: You mean it is a technical necessity?

Brandt: Not a technical, a political necessity. People have been stirred up, even those who may not have agreed with Helmut Schmidt always and on every point.

None of us is perfect, and here I do not mean just the two of us but mankind in general. The SPD has done well by way of its presidium, the Bundestag fraction and the party executive committee to ask Helmut Schmidt seriously and, if possible, favorably to consider this invitation.

SPIEGEL: At the same time, though, you have indicated in public statements that Helmut Schmidt is not the only one who could be presented by the SPD. You named Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Brandt: You are wrong. Before the Bavarian election I was asked who would be available if Schmidt were not. I replied that I would seriously weaken the strength of my appeal to Schmidt if I were already to talk about alternatives. This obviously does not preclude private thoughts on the matter.

In another section of that talk the question of continuity in the chief SPD functions arose. The media turned the sequence of these two groups of issues into something that was never actually pronounced.

No, I will not discuss alternatives. I merely say that if it should happen--and I hope it will not--, the SPD party chairman together with his two deputies, Helmut Schmidt and Johannes Rau, will discuss the resulting situation.

SPIEGEL: Earlier you mentioned the forthcoming elections in Hamburg. What will happen if seats are distributed more or less the same as now? Have the Greens rendered Hamburg ungovernable?

Brandt: That is a wrong conclusion. The hypothesis of ungovernableness is a dangerous nonsense and profoundly undemocratic. Whether I like it or not, whether the people involved are easy or difficult, I must accept that they are sent to parliament by the voters. On the other hand I am bound to expect them not to rigidly stick to outer forms but to uphold the principles I recently discussed in the Bundestag: Absence of violence, constitution, and some more of the same.

I must expect them not to disregard that which worries the majority of blue and white collar workers. I must also expect that someone who has been mandated by the voters does not simply throw it all away but brings his weight to bear in the meaning of that mandate. At the same time he must coordinate it with the mandate given others. If he fails to do that, or if the internal conditions are not present, he compels...

SPIEGEL: ...the grand coalition?

Brandt: No, that is not yet the only possible consequence. Of course a situation may arise when it does become necessary. You are talking to a man who governed Berlin with the CDU for several years and worked in a grand coalition in Bonn...

SPIEGEL: ... and who said some time ago that it might do the FDP some good to see that the SPD is not solely dependent on the liberals.

Brandt: Well, of course that was a well considered remark. In the past it has been one of the mistakes in the development of the FRG that the FDP has been allowed to proceed as if it alone could choose whether to go with the one or the other. Incidentally, in 1967/1968 the grand coalition did not do badly at all in Bonn.

I am not prejudiced. I merely repeat: If at all possible, let us leave grand coalitions alone, because they are a terrible burden on the internal well-being of both parties, especially the margins.

I meant something quite different. If a group or party incapacitates itself after getting the votes, it compels the two large parties at least to agree to the extent that budgets may be drawn up and passed. That, after all, is our obligation.

SPIEGEL: De facto that means grand coalitions.

Brandt: Well, just let me say this: In a democracy no group obtaining 5 percent, 8 percent or 10 percent--at times it may even be more, I do not exclude that possibility--must be allowed to decide the rules of the game. Nor may it turn 8 percent into 80 percent of influence...

SPIEGEL: ... as the FDP did lately.

Brandt: That may well be so. They did one heck of a lot with a 3 percent FDP. That is true. Still, there is no reason why bad habits should continue and contribute to the general decay of political morals in the FRG.

SPIEGEL: Do you expect the threat of grand coalitions to produce some flexibility among the Greens and Alternatives?

Brandt: That is not my main concern. I do, though, see from the letters received that something has been set in motion. Some people write us they had resigned from the SPD; now they wish to rejoin. Others say they voted for the Greens in Hesse but, provided we were to devote some attention to this or that, they would think again. These are quite sophisticated letters. However, that is only the SPD aspect of the matter.

The other aspect is this: The honorable colleagues of the new groupings will now have to consider what to do with their influence. In an important speech on Kohl's government statement, Horst Ehmke rightly said: If you intend opposition at any price, it will be difficult to get anywhere. You must reflect what to do with your influence. To champion goals, exert influence, carry the day on some issues, that is the nub of democratic politics.

SPIEGEL: What is to make the Greens reconsider?

Brandt: Having entered some assemblies, several of them are tending to ask themselves what good even the most noble principles will do if they let slip all opportunities actually to get something done. Other questions arise in a situation that challenges them to deal with this transition team Kohl/Genscher. Something like consolidation may well occur. The question will then confront all voters, provided we really do have elections on 6 March.

SPIEGEL: You would very much prefer to avoid a grand coalition. What happens if, at the new elections, the Union barely misses the absolute majority, the FDP does not return to the Bundestag, and SPD and Greens are hard put to it to govern with a majority of only two or three? In that case the two major parties will simply have to come to an understanding.

Brandt: No, our constitution has some very precise provisions. According to the constitution it is up to the Federal President in such a situation, and generally after an election, to propose a candidate for the office of Federal Chancellor to

the Bundestag. If the result is ambiguous, the Federal President listens to the chairmen of the parties represented in the German Bundestag or to the fraction chairman as well. Thereupon he forms an opinion as to which candidate may expect a majority of Bundestag votes.

If a situation such as you mention were to arise, the Federal President would be most likely to say: I will see whether the one who is close to a majority may in fact get the majority. The Greens will then be confronted with the question whether, for example, they will wish to elect a CDU candidate to be federal chancellor.

SPIEGEL. Or that same question will confront the SPD.

Brandt: That I cannot visualize at all. I can hardly imagine that Social Democrats would elect a Christian Democrat candidate the federal chancellor. In any case I do not want to speculate about any of this; after all, practical politicians never like to worry about hypothetical developments.

SPIEGEL: Still, it is quite possible that one of the two major parties will just miss the majority. Then, the Bundestag, by a simple majority in the third round of votes, would elect a federal chancellor who could rely on support from the other major party. Would such a de facto coalition enact an emergency program and immediately thereafter hold new elections conducted by the terms of a new majority election law?

Brandt: First of all I prefer to deal with the results of an election--provided it really happens in March--, after I have the election results to hand.

Second: I would not venture such a negative verdict on the new groupings as the question suggests, that is to assume that the other side is totally unprepared to cooperate at any time in the future.

Third: I do not favor an amendment of the election law.

SPIEGEL: Not even for raising the 5 percent barrier for entry to the Bundestag?

Brandt: This does not appeal to me at all. Long ago--haunted by the memory of Weimar--I was open to the suggestion of a relative majority election law. I abandoned this idea for two reasons. The first is this: The country always held up to us as an example of working majorities--England--is now experiencing similar difficulties.

Second: I was among those who discussed the majority election law in 1966, before the establishment of the grand coalition. When it turned out that some in the CDU actually did not want the relative majority election law but something else and rather different--one of the other CDU colleagues stood up and said: That is no majority election law, that is simply horse manure--I was quite impressed.

Of course, as SPD chairman I also had to consider that, given the particular religious breakdown of our country, it would not be very wise for entire regions to be represented in the German Bundestag by one political coloration alone. In view of all my earlier experiences I oppose a change in the election law and, furthermore, the abandonment of the responsibility arising from a fairly complicated voter verdict.

I think it would be disastrous if, instead of coming to grips with the new groups, we were to temporarily ruin them by changing the law and leaving behind deep resentment among those concerned. After all, they are mainly young people--admittedly not always reasonable young people. When I was young I was not always reasonable either, measured by present-day criteria.

SPIEGEL: Herr Brandt, do you really wish for elections on 6 March?

Brandt: Indeed we do, just as we wanted them this year. It would have been better to vote this year, before a 3-percent party tail wags the dog. Nevertheless, we continue to wish for elections, just as most citizens do.

I must say, though, that I think it monstrous for Herr Kohl to have failed in his government statement to say how to get to elections. First he rejected the elections offered by Schmidt. On 13 October, almost a month after that offer, the new Federal Chancellor uttered some banalities to the effect that the matter should be discussed. It is definitely up to him to offer a proposal.

As it is, he first pushed the issue around, then said that others should help provide an answer instead of him, as Federal Chancellor, demonstrating his much vaunted leadership abilities. The Kohl Government has surely neglected its responsibilities here.

SPIEGEL: What would be your attitude if Kohl were to invite the SPD, together with the Union, to amend the constitution and introduce a right for the Bundestag itself to decide a dissolution?

Brandt: If your assumption should turn out to be correct, I would initially be "receptive"--to use a fashionable term. I will always pay the proper respect due the office and listen to what the Federal Chancellor has to say. Thereafter I will carefully examine it together with my political allies and make sure that all legal aspects are adequately taken into account. At the same time, though, I will say very clearly that I consider the handling of the election issue a scandal. There is constant talk without this talk ever resulting in definite proposals. Still, the SPD holds firm in the belief that elections must be held.

SPIEGEL: Should there be elections and Schmidt not available, who will be the SPD's chancellor candidate?

Brandt: In that case I will discuss the question with my deputy party chairmen, Helmut Schmidt and Johannes Rau.

SPIEGEL: Would Rau be a suitable candidate as well as Vogel?

Brandt: I have nothing more to say about alternatives. However, I am quite willing to confirm that Johannes Rau is the top leader among the Land chiefs of my party, who can very well tackle Helmut Kohl.

There is not even a question. Jochen Vogel about whom you asked has long been in the intimate leadership circle of the SPD.

SPIEGEL: In his diary Boelling records a brief talk with Schmidt dated 21 September. He notes this argument why Schmidt should not stand again: "In the near future we will need a new SPD leadership anyway. The party must look for a new structure. That holds good for Wehner and, with all due respect, for Brandt too at some time or other. Obviously the same must apply to Schmidt." Decoded this surely means that all three must go for the party to renew itself?

Brandt: Firstly: Though fully appreciative of the former Federal Government spokesman's achievements, I do not know when Herr Boelling was elected to any office whatever in the SPD.

The question who is to be party chairman, for example, or something comparable, will not be settled by commentators of whatever ilk. The only ones competent to decide are the elected delegates of the SPD. The SPD adopts resolutions at party congresses or, failing that, at party executive board level.

Second: Those you mention arrived at their respective offices at different times. Depending on the course not only of electoral terms but their specific offices, they will hand over their responsibilities to others at different times also.

SPIEGEL: Are you in a position to cite some dates?

Brandt: Why should I do that?

SPIEGEL. Herr Brandt, we thank you for this interview.

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## GREENS' KUHNERT ON RELATIONS WITH SPD

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 12 Oct 82 p 5

[Interview with Jan Kuhnert, member of Greens' Hesse Landtag fraction:  
"A Doctor at the SPD's Bedside ?"]

[Text] Bielefeld (taz)—In the final analysis, economic policy plays a decisive role in any relationship between the Greens and the SPD. Under the circumstances, the criticism voiced by Hesse Greens' member Jan Kuhnert of offers to discuss an "ecological investment program for the future" as was debated last weekend at the "Future of Work" congress in Bielefeld inevitably leads back to the question of the relationship with the SPD.

[Question] What does your critique of the ecological investment program for the future mean for the relationship between the Greens and the SPD in Hesse, let us say ? You are being accused of adopting a politically untenable position.

[Answer] I would put it exactly the other way around. Our showing was the best by Greens or Alternatives in any Landtag election thus far precisely because we had a clear idea of our goals. If we had oriented our program more toward the expectations of the SPD, the impact of the breakup of the Hesse coalition would have been much stronger. Those who voted for us know full well that an ecological economy cannot work within this system—at least for the long term. It is not our function—as this congress seemed to imply—to act the part of a doctor at the bedside of the SPD telling them please do take up these sensible restructuring plans—they really will not destroy your system; they will not ask too much of you.

We will carry on a give-and-take debate on issues with the SPD in Hesse and it will not be our problem to say to them "we are not against this or that," if they come to us with reformist proposals. We would like to see the alternatives discussed much more precisely within the SPD. That would also be more productive than to limit ourselves—as our friends in Hamburg did—to a narrow range of demands on nuclear energy and to leave aside the necessary fundamental political changes.

If we acted that way, we would create the illusion that actions centered on the power structure of the state are of a perspective nature. For the SPD, this amounts to a momentary tactical shift which it can drop again, as we just saw in Hamburg. We must not trim our own objectives down to the point of where they might be attainable in collaboration with the SPD.

[Question] Baden-Wuerttemberg Landtag deputy Winfried Kretschmann would say so it is not "5 minutes to 12" after all. In your view then, we are not under any pressure to achieve something quickly...

[Answer] That is polemics. I would say that whatever is needed in the way of "reformism," the SPD should and in fact will take care of that. I do not think it will stay its traditional course. Why should it close its eyes to the problems and let the opportunity slip by which Brandt has sensed ?

[Question] And the Greens continue on as a 6 percent thorn in their side ?

[Answer] Participation in the game of power politics cuts one's own perspectives down to size. That does not make me feel too good, either. A more radical, objective-oriented 6 percent could be a great deal more significant for several more years than twice that many voters who have no real objectives. Because if we should find after one or two elections that the blind reformism concept did not jell and cannot jell and that mere illusions about possibilities for change were created, then the revenge will be all the more violent and still we would not have changed a thing. We do not wish to leave the administration of want to those people altogether; we will see to it that this is not handled in an asocial fashion—but that, after all, is not our job.

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## GREENS' DELEGATE ADVOCATES COALITION WITH SPD

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 8 Oct 82 p 5

[Article by Winfried Kretschmann, Green member of West Berlin city parliament: "Toward a Green Reformism"]

[Text] The breakup of the socialist-liberal coalition in Bonn will put the Greens to their first real test.

As an opposition party, the SPD itself will act as a magnet for protest again as it moves away from its "hard-line" strategists. If the Greens were to say "we would rather have 6 percent of the vote and remain a fundamental opposition than get 13 percent and be offered ministers' chairs," we would under these changed conditions be transformed into a 1-percent sect faster than we could get around to discussing the matter. Even if the SPD adopts our positions in some stunted way, there will be many who hope that it can and will push them through—here and now. It may well be that more people might be attracted by the promise that a large political party could overcome capitalism in a series of small steps than by that of a small party proposing in one fell swoop to establish a grass roots democratic society complete with a circular ecological economy and small social networks where guns will be needed, if at all, to reduce the deer population in the by then once more densely wooded forests to ecologically appropriate levels.

Those among the Greens who view a change of the political landscape as the main objective of alternative policy or rather the transformation of traditional political structures as a prerequisite for setting new political goals are calling on us to exercise so-called fundamental opposition in the legislatures and to reject any participation in political power whatever and in particular any direct participation in government coalitions. This type of policy cannot work in the long run because it constantly creates a dilemma which feeds on itself. One cannot constantly maintain—even less so with such rigor and obstinacy as Petra Kelly—that the other parties' policies are miserable, ossified, incompetent and unimaginative without, in the final analysis, offering one's own views as a better, concrete alternative to them. "Alternatives—the Greens"—is that all we are: a bumper sticker?

And we lose all our credibility, if we constantly trot out "Global 2000" as a kind of apocalyptic Ersatz Bible and if we keep on using the phrase "it is 5 minutes to 12" which would seem to indicate that we do not have much time to throw the rudder around. Then one must also have the courage to grab hold of it.

To be sure, we will not realize our Green utopia by taking part in a government coalition; we will realize it, if at all, by changing people's conscious attitudes.

Not to join a coalition but to tolerate minority governments in case the other side makes the appropriate political concessions is a formula that can only work for and makes sense during a transition period. In the long run, it probably creates more problems than direct participation in a government would. It forces others to take action; it may set limits or change them; but it is a defensive, single-issue formula rather than a conceptual policy. It rather seems like a formula for citizens' initiatives which operate on a local, limited issue basis as a rule and are designed in most instances to prevent some bureaucratic bit of nonsense. But if a parliamentary fraction acts in this manner, it is driven into adopting a program of rejection.

A strategy of quick action which makes the construction of new nuclear power plants more difficult due to the huge social problems and the ever increasing need for decisions and makes the renunciation of nuclear technology necessary both on strategic grounds and because of the altered political situation for tactical reasons therefore calls for an unequivocal affirmation of coalition policy.

If it is to be successful, it must take three basic points into consideration.

1. In the foreseeable future, it is hard to imagine a coalition with the CDU/CSU.
2. Now that the SPD is in the opposition, it will be even more difficult for us to secure a footing in the labor and the union movement. Many in our party are trying to achieve this goal by adopting a particularly radical policy in favor of the working class. But this will not do much good just the same. For even if we do come out more clearly and unequivocally in favor of labor's demands, the SPD will still be able to make up for it inasmuch as it has historically been the more reliable protector of workers' interests.
3. Aside from the interests of "labor" (represented by the SPD and the Left) and those of "capital" (represented by the CDU and the FDP), the Greens' really authentic contribution to political life is "nature"—which has more or less given us our name.

In connection with this, we have another ideological opportunity for identifying ourselves. It is the principle of decentralization, of self-administration, of small units. Insofar as we can at all succeed in rallying a permanent stock of voters to our cause, it will always be based in the ecological camp and sociologically it will be based on the educated bourgeoisie—if we like or not.

If one takes these three points into consideration and if we want to see our social, our peace policy and cultural ideas realized apart from ecology, we can achieve this goal only through a strategic alliance with the SPD.

If one places the platforms of the Greens and those of the SPD side by side and not simply juxtaposes personalities like Holger Boerner and Petra Kelly, then a substantive compromise between us and the SPD should turn out to be no more difficult to reach than it was between the SPD and the FDP.

It is unthinkable that the SPD—as an opposition—will by a majority vote come out in favor of NATO modernization.

To the extent that it becomes more and more apparent that nuclear technology is a cul-de-sac—even from an economical point of view—the readiness to renounce it will grow in the SPD ranks.

In the entire area of social policy, there is a greater degree of agreement between the Greens and the SPD than between all other conceivable party coalitions.

The promise of a red-green coalition, the lack of promise of any other and the fact that an absolute majority is not in the cards should strengthen the hand of the SPD's ecological wing. If we ourselves do not want to operate according to the maxim "we ask for everything and get nothing" but instead agree on the idea that such a coalition offers an opportunity for nipping a "radiant" future in the bud, would we not have gained more than we could ever have hoped? Would we not be setting the course toward openness in a future society which would be of greater import than the undeniable danger we run of losing the alternative, grass roots democracy impetus and turning into a common, everyday political party bent on maintaining its power base? If we do not want to be ground up between the two existing millstones, there is no alternative to taking this chance.

The decisive "sticking points" are likely to revolve around the so-called political culture issues.

The Greens are not a revolutionary party—the SPD even less so. For that matter, the Germans least of all are animated by libertarian-revolutionary tradition or receptive to such thinking. Although Honecker and his men are in the habit of citing Marx and Engels, the ideas of revolutionary socialism have nowhere been so blatantly perverted than among these very neighbors of ours.

Against this background, it must not be the goal of the Greens to deliver a blanket denunciation of parliamentarism and to call for its immediate replacement by visionary grass roots democracy models based on the direct democratic process. An elementary and significant right like that of refusing military service for example cannot be implemented in Switzerland precisely because of direct democracy. We must break with the habit as quickly as we can of turning every good idea and every socially promising trend—like the citizens' initiative movement—into the one and only fulcrum on which the whole world will turn and which will lead humanity into a paradise of liberty, equality and fraternity.

There is no indication—none whatever—that we will succeed in opening the way to eco-topia in one fell swoop.

The parliamentary system may well be deficient—but there is none better in sight. At least not if one has not blinded oneself to experiences made with other systems elsewhere. At any rate, it is a system that is open enough for us to submit our programs to it with some hope of success. We must take parliament and parliamentary work seriously as well as its constitutional function as the representation of the popular will; as the giver of laws which set social standards; as the elector and comptroller of the government and we must defend it in particular against a tendency by the established political parties to view it as a mere forum where matters long since decided are played out for show. Strict adherence to checks and balances in place of proportionality by party affiliation; committee work in place of lobby chatter; freedom of choice in place of party-line conformity; dialogue in place of grandstand oratory—why can't that be done? If we take parliamentarism seriously, we could also enrich it in a variety of ways—through regional plebiscites, through the ombudsman method; by facilitating citizens' referenda at the community level; by introducing class action and popular suits or by greater decentralization of responsibilities and decisions.

The Greens think of themselves as enlightened citizens. As such, they must realize that the realization of liberty, equality, fraternity and "naturalness" (which is another way of saying ecological, social, grass roots democratic, non-violent) is first of all a question of a people's level of cultural development and secondly a question of the framework within which the democratic process takes place. The Falkland conflict came about as a result of nationalist frenzy of the masses—both in a brutal military dictatorship and in the oldest parliamentary democracy in the world.

In other words—in one way or another, and thank God for that, we will not get around the need to look for majorities for our programs.

As a minority (8 percent making up just under 5 minutes of an hour) we of all people must therefore accept the principle of law and order and the government monopoly on the use of force because this is part of the meaning and the historical development of the two principles guaranteeing that minorities are not subject to the whims and dictates of the majority. An

increase in arbitrary actions by the state and the dismantling of democratic institutions do not make these principles superfluous by any means.

In view of the increasing ossification of social institutions, acts of civil disobedience cannot be dispensed with unfortunately—but they must always remain limited infringements of the law. They must be strictly non-violent both as regards people and property. Essentially, the only "weapon" to be used is one's own body. That is the very thing that constitutes its moral strength.

The goal must be of a discursive and provocative nature. In other words, the aim must be to achieve a social dialogue on the issue which is the object of the infringement.

As a true act of resistance, they can only be legitimate wherever political issues are involved which might give rise to irreparable burdens and dangers for posterity.

When such actions are limited in scope and non-violent and when their aim is not to take justice in one's own hands but to force a dialogue on effecting legal change, they constitute in every instance respect for the rule of law. The state, to be sure, by exercising its monopoly on the use of force can always impose a majority decision—even if we view it as unreasonable—if we were unable to bring the majority round to our point of view. The actions such as those undertaken by Greenpeace are of this nature. As a party, we must be even more careful about our infringement of the rules than Greenpeace already is. For as a party we lay claim to serving as a model which ensures the social life and the mores of society as a whole. As long as we are not yet living in some future society where the better argument wins the day every time, this can only be done on the basis of the rule of law.

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## CHANGE IN BOERNER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD GREENS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by "ptn": "Cozying Up or Facing Reality ?"]

[Text] Wiesbaden, 21 October—The transformation of Hesse Minister President Boerner from curt rejection of the Greens toward a more forthcoming stance has given rise to strong criticism in CDU and FDP quarters and to words of praise by the Greens. Hesse's CDU feels that this bears out its warnings regarding a "red-green policy of blockage to the detriment of the Land." The FDP called Boerner's more temperate statements concerning the Greens "sorry attempts to cozy up" to them. The Greens themselves noted with some satisfaction that Boerner, who had rejected negotiations with them out of hand on election night, was "the last member of the SPD leadership group to give up his negative stance vis-a-vis the Greens." Boerner, they said, had now adopted the position already assumed by Land executive director Giani, fraction chairman Winterstein and South Hesse district chairman Goerlach.

CDU Land chairman designate Frankfurt Lord Mayor Wallmann noted that Boerner has made a surprisingly fast switch from his numerous public declarations prior to the election in which he had not only excluded the possibility of any parliamentary collaboration with the Greens whatever but had even come close to accusing them of being fascists. Wallmann charged the SPD with having misled the voters during the campaign. While Boerner, Giani, Goerlach and other Hesse SPD leaders had categorically ruled out "any kind of collaboration between the SPD and the Greens" prior to the 26 September election, SPD leaders were now cozying up to the Greens "in an altogether indecent fashion."

The Hesse SPD justified Boerner's statements of last Thursday by pointing out once more that it made no sense to follow the lead of the CDU by "haughtily not taking cognizance" of a Landtag fraction representing some 280,000 voters. The SPD, it was said, would work out and submit a program over the next several days and weeks. All the parties were being called upon to comment on it.

FDP Land chairman Gries called Boerner's statements "a cheap attempt aimed at preserving the existence of the minority caretaker government." Gries called on the SPD to clear up and make public its relationship to the Greens "in an unequivocal and binding fashion."



In the Greens' view, it is an open question whether the SPD position is not based on "power politics alone." The Hamburg events, it is said, have shown that the SPD is not truly interested in reaching an agreement. But based on Boerner's statement that there are "a great many thoughtful young people and not just troublemakers" among the Greens, the Greens themselves are willing to concede that there are "not just obstinate refusniks but some reasonable older people" among the SPD.

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## GREENS ADVOCATE MEASURES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 22 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by "ban": "Greens Working on New Image"]

[Text] Bonn, 21 October—The Greens intend to use the weeks from now until the start of the Bundestag election campaign to project a clearer image of themselves with regard to economic and social policy. Based on a variety of attacks directed against them by the SPD and the labor unions, they realize that the SPD will concentrate its attacks on them on these issues. Given the situation on the labor market, they recently joined several groups—the Young Socialists among them—which met in Bielefeld with some proposals of their own which they presented to the public in Bonn on Thursday. A "background paper on unemployment and reduction in social services"—a title which borrows from labor union terminology—calls for "investment in the future" such as in the energy sector where the construction of new coal power plants is to replace nuclear power plants which the Greens reject and create jobs at the same time. This poses a dilemma for the Greens, as one of their chairmen, Burgmann, pointed out in that short-term programs against unemployment should not run counter to their long-term plans such as the rejection of major construction projects like new Autobahns or the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal. The study also contains proposals on shorter working hours similar to those made by other political parties and the labor unions. The study is to be voted on at the Greens' party congress in mid-November. At that congress, the question of the Greens' collaboration with other political parties will also come up for debate. This is not only of topical interest because of the situation in Hamburg and in Hesse but also because of the upcoming Bundestag election which might assign a key role to the Greens in the new parliament. The debate will be carried on by those who reject any sort of collaboration with other political parties and those who are carefully trying to steer the Greens into the role of a party capable of joining coalitions. That is also the reason behind the Greens' call on the supporters of the ecology and the "peace movement" to participate in next weekend's DGB demonstrations which are directed against the government's policies under the general heading of "Create Jobs—Prevent Reduction in Social Services." "Justified criticism" of the labor unions, the Greens' executive committee appeal says, should not keep people from joining the "demonstrations by those affected by the economic crisis of this system."

LAMBSDORFF ON COALITION CHANGE, ECONOMIC PROGRAM

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 11 Oct 82 pp 27-31

[Interview with Otto Graf Lambsdorff, minister of economics, by Heiko Martens and Paul Lersch: "'Strauss Should Stop Being So Dogmatic'"]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Graf Lambsdorff, you advocated the change to the Union for a long time. Will everything be better now?

Lambsdorff: No, I cannot say that it is so. The problems remain the same. I do believe, however, that the initial position has improved. It was no longer possible to agree with the Social Democrats. It will be better with the Union.

SPIEGEL: You said yourself many times that you had high regards for your former head of government, Helmut Schmidt....

Lambsdorff: ....not had but have.

SPIEGEL: There is no doubt, however, that the new chancellor, compared to the old one, lacks the expertise in crucial areas of economic and monetary policy. Do you have any second thoughts about your new head of government that he might not be the right man for the current problems?

Lambsdorff: No. It is true, of course, that in the future I can no longer go to the chancellor and say: We know the problems, now we only need to talk about the answers.

SPIEGEL: In other words, you are going to coach Mr. Kohl?

Lambsdorff: No. I shall prepare data and documents and ask for decisions. It is the normal relationship between the chancellor and ministers of departments.

SPIEGEL: Your paper on the economic situation was the final factor in the breakup of the coalition. Thus, you are also responsible for the consequences: elimination from the government at an inopportune time, a devastating election defeat in Hesse, a split in the party, the prospect of possibly disappearing from parliament in future elections. Did you think your action through politically?

Lambsdorff: The paper was not a targeted action, but it was the result of the impressions I had gained from the budget negotiations in the summer of 1982. After all, it could not continue in such a stubborn and tiresome manner.

SPIEGEL: But you had to take into account that it might lead to a rift.

Lambsdorff: No, not at the beginning. I said to myself, going from one 3-month period to the next one cannot produce confidence in the economy. It was not at all intended as a tool to break up the coalition. The conversation with the chancellor that followed was extraordinarily peaceful.

SPIEGEL: But you are partly responsible for the disaster of your party.

Lambsdorff: There is certainly no doubt that some blame and responsibility exists for the current tensions. There is also a partial responsibility for the current conditions in economic, monetary and budget policies. Strauss does not have to tell me that all the time, I already know that. The only question is whether we can gather sufficient strength to get ready for a new direction.

SPIEGEL: You underestimated the devastating consequences of the change for your party?

Lambsdorff: The way I see it now, I did not realize at that time that this change would produce such a rift within the party. I actually thought that most of them had gained an insight from the experiences of 1969: From time to time, when the situation calls for it, the FDP must simply have the strength and elasticity to make the change.

SPIEGEL: But you have not been able to convince your party-friends of a pertinent reason for the change.

Lambsdorff: It was precisely the point where I got through to them. You will simply have to go to the FDP parliamentary group and ask them whether there is anyone left who still believes that monetary, budget and economic policies, fighting unemployment, cutting down on additional net credit can be successfully discussed with the Social Democrats.

SPIEGEL: We could name quite a few. Gerhart Baum, your former colleague in the cabinet, even said in the Bundestag that the Social Democrats are not solely to blame and he declared that the FDP leadership had a part in the collapse.

Lambsdorff: That is a different question. That is the way Herr Baum sees it, but I do not want to take part in any rehashing. I want to know what road to take in the future.

SPIEGEL: But in your party there is still a lot of excitement about the breach of the election promise.

Lambsdorff: What promise? I went over all of my publications from the 1980 election campaign--they are over there in my suitcase. There is nothing, not a single sentence that I have to take out.

SPIEGEL: But Herr Genscher assured publicly that he wanted to govern with Schmidt "for 4 years" and, to be sure, "as a reliable and sincere partner."

Lambsdorff: The party adopted a platform and planned a policy which it wanted to carry out jointly with the SPD and with Helmut Schmidt. And I am saying the same thing today as I did at that time: If the economic policy of the SPD is the product of Helmut Schmidt, Hans Apel and Hans Matthoefer, it will work well. If it is made by Wolfgang Roth, Norbert Gansel and Frau Wieczorek-Zeul, it will be the end of the coalition.

SPIEGEL: The chancellor never expected you to accept any of the resolutions of the Munich SPD congress.

Lambsdorff: Of course, the chancellor did not.

SPIEGEL: But he was the person who mattered.

Lambsdorff: The entire party line matters, and the line of the parliamentary group. We had barely concluded cabinet and budget resolutions for 1983, when someone said: We will have to make improvements, we cannot accept them as they are.

SPIEGEL: Of course, parliamentarians can criticize government resolutions.

Lambsdorff: In the government cooperation became more and more laborious and difficult. Many nights were spent arguing over positions, all the economic and monetary-political decisions were moving only at a snail's pace.

SPIEGEL: Was the real reason for the change not a totally different one: the fear of being dragged down with the SPD?

Lambsdorff: If that consideration had been a factor, we would have had to make the break a year ago.

SPIEGEL: But the idea existed already in 1981 to put an end to the coalition as soon as possible.

Lambsdorff: The tax surcharge was indeed discussed as early as the summer of 1981. As a consequence, the thought actually surfaced whether it would be possible to work together and jointly produce budgets for the remainder of the legislative period. Naturally, there was at least one occasion when the conversation turned to the question whether we wanted to go down with the SPD. But we did not get off the elevator, which was moving downward fast.

SPIEGEL: And now your new coalition partner is concerned about going down with the FDP. Your partner Strauss wants to ruin your party.

Lambsdorff: Yes, his most recent comments sound that way. But whether it reflects the wishes of the entire CSU is another matter. I will leave it up to the process of fermentation within the CSU and the process of development between the CSU and CDU. Herr Strauss should stop being so dogmatic and self-centered and look into the future and make sure that this government is going to amount to something sensible. He almost managed to keep it from being formed. And, in spite of all the critical comments I have heard about the new chancellor: The fact that he maneuvered around Strauss and secured the votes of the CSU Land group was quite an accomplishment.

SPIEGEL: In addition to Strauss, there are many among your own party-friends who spoiled the new beginning for the government because they feel bound to the voters. Are the people causing trouble?

Lambsdorff: They read Bert Brecht.

SPIEGEL: It is not illegal.

Lambsdorff: The smoke shells that were released, multiple rockets, to numb the people and stupefy them, the talk about disloyalty and treason and dark machinations and conspiracies--of course, it means trouble. But the smoke will clear from the battlefield, I can tell you that. What does disloyalty mean anyway? Chancellor Helmut Schmidt had barely unpacked his suitcase in Hamburg, when his deputy party chairman was already placed on the marketplace of Augsburg. The talk is that Herr Hans-Jochen Vogel will be the candidate--I must say, these gentlemen are really using good manners themselves.

SPIEGEL: The issue concerns the manners between the FDP and the SPD. It is called treason because an election promise was broken. Second, even many party-friends felt that the method was extremely offensive, because the matter was glossed over by the leadership.

Lambsdorff: I know this criticism. But I do not think that this attitude is justified. There were decisions by the presidium, the Federal executive committee, several decisions by the parliamentary group. The majority decided. It is democratic justification.

SPIEGEL: After the coalition had collapsed. Many people realized at that time that Genscher had planned the change for a long time.

Lambsdorff: The change was not brought about wantonly. But the fact that it had been considered, dear heavens, surely not a single party-friend could have been unaware of it; if he has been reading the daily newspapers during the last few months he should have known that something was about to happen.

SPIEGEL: But the chairman always gave the impression that none of those things were to be carried out. Therefore even prominent party-friends felt that they had been deceived.

Lambsdorff: I myself said on a number of occasions: If we are able to work together and accomplish what we set out to do, we will govern together until 1984.

SPIEGEL: Your new friends, particularly those from the CSU, are now accusing you, especially you, that you are in large part responsible for the economic misery because you were the minister of the social-liberal coalition in charge of this department. It can certainly not be called a shining new beginning.

Lambsdorff: Already now I can see that you in particular would prefer the return of a chancellor who left at the sound of the guards of the Bundeswehr. DER SPIEGEL will work at it diligently during the next few months....

SPIEGEL: ...and Chancellor Kohl will listen to a final tattoo as a good-bye.

Lambsdorff: To begin with: The former government was already fully aware of the fact that the 1983 budget, which called for DM 27.5 billion to be raised in net credit, had to be examined and revised in view of new figures and that the result would be a higher amount for net credit or tax increases or cuts in expenditures.

SPIEGEL: True. But: With the SPD it would certainly have been possible to add DM 10 billion to the net credit. But not with the FDP. Now, suddenly it is possible.

Lambsdorff: Just a moment. I do not have to repeat the old story again and again that in this matter there are differences of opinion between the FDP parliamentary group and me. With respect to the second point: Without massive cuts in expenditures for 1983, you would not land at DM 37.5 billion in net credit but at DM 50 billion--roughly speaking. In other words: Without changes in benefit laws it is not possible. And the Social Democrats will agree to that?

SPIEGEL: The issue is the credibility of the FDP. First, the net credit was made a special factor that was to cause the collapse of the coalition. Now none of you is getting excited about it any longer.

Lambsdorff: At any rate, the parliamentary group, the party, even the public should come to the realization that there is such a big gap between the assumed real growth rate of 3 percent for 1983 and the budget figures built on it on one hand and a growth rate which is now expected to be zero and the budget figures built on it on the other hand, that even the biggest efforts and the most sincere desire to cut back are no longer adequate measures.

SPIEGEL: Let us talk about a second major point of the FDP, the special levy that was proposed for upper-income earners. How can a politician who wants to remain credible throw such a curve?

Lambsdorff: I did not throw a curve, because there is not going to be a tax surcharge.

SPIEGEL: Do you think that there is any credibility left after so much discussion about this compulsory loan, trying to make the people believe that it is something entirely different?

Lambsdorff: It is something different. Apparently you do not care whether someone takes something away from you permanently or whether it is only temporary and you are going to get it back later. It must be related to high income, Strauss said.

SPIEGEL: And when you pay back the loan, it is going to be an additional net credit on favorable terms, in other words, without interest.

Lambsdorff: That is correct.

SPIEGEL: Are you certain that the loan will be repaid?

Lambsdorff: It is a recoverable claim against the FRG.

SPIEGEL: in the MITTELSTANDSMAGAZIN [middle class magazine], Prof Zeitel, your CDU colleague and minister of finance in the Saarland, said that "it is time to say good-bye to cosmetic treatments of figures, which has been practiced to date." The time has come to "evaluate" economic data "seriously." The data that Zeitel mentions are yours.

Lambsdorff: We have always evaluated them seriously. Of course, we made one change. To date we more or less concentrated on the medium values of the prognosis, somewhat near the upper range of the scale. From now on we will be more cautious and move closer to the lower range of the economic forecast for the year of 1983 and later years.

SPIEGEL: Aside from more pessimistic forecasts from the house of Lambsdorff, what other changes can be expected in the economic policy? How can the voter interpret the meaning of the change?

Lambsdorff: The important thing right now is that the people in this country realize: The government has a unified concept. We will no longer go separate ways but work together.

SPIEGEL: Then you will probably have to go to Munich in the near future.

Lambsdorff: I am not going to visit Strauss in Munich but I am going to Graurheindorfer Street, to the ministry of finance, and to Duisburg, the ministry of labor, and I will confer with Herr Stoltenberg and Herr Bluem.

SPIEGEL: The result of these discussions is already contained in your new coalition paper: a combination of a higher state debt, lower private income and a bundle of higher taxes and fees. How can this deadly combination produce an economic upturn?

Lambsdorff: It is not a deadly combination. I know that if one can only think in terms of demand categories, and in particular private demand categories...



SPIEGEL: ...after all, it is more than half of the total demand....

Lambsdorff: ...then it does give the appearance of a deadly combination. I do not want to quote from my paper all the time, because it is my paper, not a government paper, not an FDP paper....

SPIEGEL: ...and certainly not one from the CDU.

Lambsdorff: No, and even less one that originates with the SPD.

SPIEGEL: Politically you are quite a loner.

Lambsdorff: There are times when one will have to bear with it. But: If we want an economic recovery, we will have to make a few more very painful decisions, which from all appearances do not seem to improve the situation immediately. That is also written in my paper.

SPIEGEL: The measures that you proposed deprive private households of approximately DM 16 billion in purchasing power. Consumption has already dropped very low. But without consumption there will be no investments.

Lambsdorff: I doubt that your 16-billion figure is accurate and, besides: The demand is not only based on purchases of chocolate, in other words, private consumption--it is one factor, but not the only one. Unless there is a demand for capital goods which, in my opinion, is much more important than the demand for consumer goods, there will be no renewal in the capital stock of the German economy. And that is what we need to become competitive and, to be sure, it is needed urgently.

SPIEGEL: When someone modernizes his plant, expands his production apparatus, the expectation is the decisive factor: Will I be able to sell the products?

Lambsdorff: That is correct. I am certainly not underestimating private consumption, which is the reason for my discriminating position on the question concerning additional net credit when manifestations of the economic conditions have to be dealt with and financed.

SPIEGEL: In addition to the fact that almost all increases for social programs have been halted and delayed, Minister for Labor Bluem, your colleague, also suggested a 6-month wage freeze. What do you think about that?

Lambsdorff: It is a worthwhile suggestion.

SPIEGEL: Such an idea does not only raise questions with respect to the demand for consumer products but also with respect to financing social security. As a matter of fact, if gross wages and salaries rise more slowly next year, it also translates into reduced revenues for the entire social security system.

Lambsdorff: Of course, it is something that will have to be considered and figured out. We have to be careful.

SPIEGEL: In the old coalition your reputation as a strict market economist was instrumental in helping to draw the line between the FDP and the SPD. And now?

Lambsdorff: Now the market economist Lambsdorff will try to fulfill his tasks. The areas that will have to be defined right now, above all, are legal and domestic policies. We even discussed it with the coalition partner.

SPIEGEL: But because of it it seems even more incomprehensible that the competent former minister of the interior was not even permitted to participate in the negotiations. After all, a little paper was put together which ignores controversial questions and deals only with a few insignificant items.

Lambsdorff: Of course, we defended ourselves against Gerhart Baum's criticism. But there is one thing that I have to say: I explained to my colleague, Herr Baum, that I was not particularly interested in seeing him as a member of the next government. But when the leader of the negotiations does not know whether he should support someone because he does not know whether he will be there, it is, of course, a difficult situation.

SPIEGEL: First of all, it would have been necessary to insist on liberal positions and on the ministry of the interior.

Lambsdorff: You know that we are no longer forming a coalition with the second-strongest parliamentary group but with the strongest one of the Bundestag. The weights were distributed in such a manner that the CDU/CSU claimed the ministry of the interior for itself, and there was no way that we could have prevented it.

SPIEGEL: The criticism is directed at the party chairman who accepted a kind of treatment and results in a traditionally FDP area that many liberals can no longer live with.

Lambsdorff: I know this criticism. In my opinion it is not justified.

SPIEGEL: The excitement over the change will not go away until spring. The economic outlook is very gloomy. Considering these circumstances, do you even dare facing the voters on 6 March?

Lambsdorff: In January you can arrange for the tolling of the funeral bell. At any rate, there will be an election on 6 March. It takes courage. The government has this courage.

SPIEGEL: And you want to face the voters with a split party?

Lambsdorff: Of course, we will have to make the biggest effort possible to settle the dispute. I will have difficulties with a few people and there

will be some who will be impossible to deal with. But we still have one Federal party congress left which can contribute to the clarification of these items. Let us wait and see.

SPIEGEL: Many of your party-friends want a new beginning just like you do, but they want something different, a party without Genscher because he brought disrepute upon the party.

Lambsdorff: In my opinion there is no other person who could take the place of Genscher and be as effective as he is within the party and for the party. He led the party successfully through two Federal election campaigns. Over a period of 8 years he demonstrated his extraordinary integration abilities and, to be sure, often in the interest of the minority which is now treating him so shabbily at times. During the Federal party congress, Wolfgang Mischnick's Bundestag speech will play a major role. The delegates will realize that Genscher made the right decision in the matter. And the majority will confirm Genscher in his office.

SPIEGEL: And if Genscher should give up, would you also give up?

Lambsdorff: I cannot imagine that Genscher will give up and I cannot imagine that I will give up.

SPIEGEL: Graf Lambsdorff, we thank you for this interview.

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## PEACE MOVEMENT GROUPS PLAN FUTURE ACTION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Oct 82 p 7

[Text] The second "Action Conference of Peace Groups in the Federal Republic," which took place over the weekend with over 700 participants at the Pedagogical University of Cologne, introduced no new action perspectives in the sense of preventing the equipment of NATO with middle range weapons. The organizers, above all the Protestant Action Atonement-Sign/Peace-Service, the Federal Organization for Citizens' Initiatives on Environmental Protection (BBU), the German Peace Society/United Opponents of Military Service, and the "Women for Peace," retreated to the position that the meeting was a "highly valuable exchange of information." With this evaluation, they did indeed come close to the reality of the meeting, but they also tacitly admitted that they could not accomplish what an action conference, the first of which was held in February in Bonn, is supposed to accomplish. The first conference already showed what has later become obvious for every larger meeting of the "Peace Movement" in the Federal Republic, namely that the participants have nothing more in common than their bodily presence, and that their ideas on the goals and methods of peace work are hopelessly apart.

The central point of the "Peace Movement" is now, as before, the Krefelder Appeal, which demands a unilateral armament stop in NATO, and which at present has well over two million signatures. But there is still only preliminary agreement on the declaration. Its status is even becoming more and more doubtful, because the groups under communist influence want to raise the "Krefelder Appeal" to the exclusive total declaration of the peace movement and to trim back the goals of the other organizations to a one-sided action against Western defense policy. The GDR critic, Bahro, who is probably the most eloquent critic of the German Communist Party's influence on the "Peace Movement," did not, therefore, attack the "Krefelder Appeal," which he considers to be a justified partial statement of the movement, but "the policy that accompanies the Krefelder Appeal." Bahro, who began his speech in Cologne with a reference to previous German Communist Party criticism--misunderstood by many as a sort of apology--pointed to a connection between the peace question and the German question. On this basis, he not only advocated a nuclear-free Europe from Poland to Portugal in the spirit of the Russell initiative, but also a separation of the peace movement from the German Communist Party and its scope; he expects thereby not a

weakening of the movement but new support from the other side and thereby a strengthening, yes, even the attainment of a majority. Bahro seemed to speak for about half of the followers of the peace movement who participate in the extraregional and supragroup meetings.

The church groups also have points of agreement with Bahro. The most noteworthy of these groups is the Action Atonement-Sign. This group, too, has the motto, "No new nuclear weapons in our country! A nuclear-free Europe in West and East!" But it points the Action in a different direction. It appeals to Protestants, and it also finds support with people who are otherwise nonpolitical. The November peace weeks probably belong to the most effective actions of the whole "Peace Movement." The demands for "the prevention of the stationing of nuclear weapons in our country and elsewhere," for "the true prevention of armament exports," and for "alternatives to previous defense policy" are also on the agenda of the Protestant Church Assembly in June of next year. The Action Atonement-Sign has, in the words of one of its representatives, Zumach, set itself the goal of helping those in the Protestant church who adopt the statement of the Reform Federation on nuclear weapons and who reject the peace statement of the German Protestant Church to attain a majority.

In agreement with the Federal Organization for Citizens' Initiatives on Environmental Protection, and also with the Greens, the Action Atonement-Sign is also for declaring cities and communities nuclear-weapons-free areas. The BBU speaker, Leinen, pointed to successes along these lines in Darmstadt, Gross-Gerau, Kassel, Lindau, Marl, Moerfelden, and Nuremberg. Such proposals have been presented to fifteen other community parliaments. Peace weeks and nuclear-free declarations seem to have the most effect on the masses because they find agreement far beyond the peace group membership in circles that in spite of having nothing to do with the ideas of the German Communist Party and of wanting no unilateral Western initiatives on a strategic level, still stand close to such actions in a Christian way and accept them as politically legalized.

In the discussion of other proposals, which went from a tax boycott to the collection of a hundred thousand marks for a piece of land in the Sicilian Comiso to blockades of military bases to "It might be necessary to march against Bonn and to lay siege," the change of government in Bonn played a continually important role. Above all, doubts were raised about Minister of the Interior Zimmermann and his parliamentary State Secretary Spranger in connection with several planned decentralized demonstrations. Thus, groups in the "Peace Movement" want to take part in the declaration of the German Union Federation unions "against reduction of social programs and against armament insanity" on 23 October, and at the end of January, 1983, they want to mount large demonstrations in at least four cities on the fiftieth anniversary of Hitler's power takeover.

The prospects for the "Peace Movement's" achieving its primary goal of preventing an increase in NATO armament are evaluated by the various groups as optimistic--to be sure, without good justification. Zumach even believed that a Federal Chancellor Schmidt could have achieved the increased armament

more easily than a Federal Chancellor Kohl, whose government polarizes the population too much and therefore unwillingly also mobilizes the unions and in this way welds the opponents of increased armament together. The speaker of the Committee for Peace, Disarmament, and Cooperation, Matthiesen, said, "I am convinced that we will stop the missiles," and he asserted: "1983 will probably be the decisive year." This brought the reply, "Tell us something new," and he was criticized for falling into preachers' rhetoric. Matthiesen is already planning for the communist-influenced Easter marches. But before this, another action conference will be held--shortly after the parliamentary elections in March of next year.

After the past weekend, it hardly looks as if this peace movement can become the decisive force that decides the defense policy of NATO. But if it nevertheless achieves its goal, which it shares with others, it will be because of its underestimation by the responsible politicians or also because the results of the negotiations in Geneva make an increase in NATO armament partially or completely unnecessary.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

MARCHAIS ON FRANCO-CHINESE TIES, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PM211403 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 18 Oct 82 p 9

[Unattributed report: "A Broad Area of Agreement Enables Joint Action"]

[Text] At a press conference for French journalists in Beijing on Sunday morning [17 October] [PCF secretary general] Georges Marchais stated:

"We have been in China for 4 days. Important talks have already taken place between us and a CPC delegation headed by CPC general secretary Hu Yaobang. In a few hours we are going to leave Beijing to start a 1-week visit to a few of the provinces of this huge country.

"These discussions enable us to draw the first conclusions from our visit already. That is why I am anxious to meet with you, to inform you of them and, of course, to answer your questions.

"When we arrived in China I described this visit--these were my first words--as an 'event.' I recalled that it was in fact the first time that a PCF secretary general had visited the PRC. And, of course, this is not happening in just any context, but after a 'shadow,' to use the understatement used by Hu Yaobang on Thursday evening, had been cast over relations between the French and Chinese parties for almost 20 years.

"Today we are in a position to say that the abnormal situation which existed between our two parties is a thing of the past. You yourselves can see the great importance which our Chinese comrades are attaching to our visit. We have just had discussions on three occasions, lasting a total of 11 hours, with the CPC secretary general, in a direct, relaxed and open manner, in an atmosphere of mutual respect, fellow-feeling and--I use this word in full appreciation of its meaning--friendship. We have only just received a visit from PRC Premier Comrade Zhao Ziyang and finally, as you know, Comrade Deng Xiaoping will do us the honor of granting us an interview and giving us a farewell lunch on 25 October.

"This brings me to the content of our talks.

"These talks have been held in three stages, and, as I told you yesterday, we first exchanged information on the situation in France and China.

"In this respect I explained that our decision to participate, as we are doing, in a constructive and unitary way in the government of the country and in the leftwing majority, was not the result of tactical considerations, that it was not the result of special circumstances and, on that basis, likely to be reviewed after a particular stage in the political battle. That decision was in every respect the result of the strategy which we drew up at our recent congresses.

"Let us make things clear since, before leaving France, I noticed that some people are still indulging in repeated speculation: it is completely out of the question that we might reconsider that decision. It will not be reconsidered either before, or during or after the commune elections. On the contrary, I have expressed to our interlocutors the communists' firm intention to continue to take action in the government and wherever they are to progress toward solving the problems, to remove the obstacles set up by the right and the big employers and thus to ensure that the course is maintained in order to help set a dynamic and winning leftwing union against the revanchist front which the rightwing forces are setting up with a view to the forthcoming commune elections.

"That explanation led me to explain the broad outlines of our strategy: our concept of the French brand of socialism for which we are struggling, a democratic, self-managing socialism defined entirely on the basis of the country's needs and our people's aspirations and tastes and the French path which we propose for building the new society, a democratic path, respecting at all times the majority will as expressed by universal suffrage.

"Comrade Hu Yaobang, for his part, explained the main ideas of his party's 12th congress held 6 weeks ago. In particular he stressed the success which China has already achieved in building socialism but also the serious setbacks it suffered owing to the policy known as the "Great Leap Forward" and the "Cultural Revolution," the considerable economic, social and political difficulties which it is still encountering today and the solutions which the Chinese party and government are applying and plan to apply to them.

"In that framework the CPC secretary general stressed the importance which his party now attaches to the development of socialist democracy and to the respect of socialist legality by all. And he stressed that he was aware that the mistakes made in that sphere in building the new society had negative effects on the battle waged by the communist parties and all those who are struggling for socialism.

"For my part I stressed that the real damage was linked with the gigantic efforts which imperialism is deploying in the ideological battle with its campaign on human rights. I demonstrated that that campaign could have all the more impact if it is possible to base it on real cases of lack of socialist democracy in a particular country. We French communists have often said that action to defend



and extend human rights is at the heart of our fight and that we will never allow imperialism, whose hands are permanently stained with the blood of so many peoples, to sully that noble cause, and that, in our view, democracy is a universal requirement of socialism.

"The second subject which we discussed during our talks is that of the international situation. Naturally our delegation explained our party's concept of France's role. In our view France can only be itself by ensuring its full and complete independence, sovereignty and security, by pursuing an active policy of peace, disarmament and mutually advantageous cooperation and by helping to establish a new world economic order. We advocate that, while respecting its alliances, France should take action to encourage the dissolution of the military blocs and pursue a policy of nonalignment.

"I then stressed that, in our view, the objectives which France is setting in the foreign policy sphere are a move in the right direction, for instance the initiatives on Lebanon taken by President Francois Mitterrand, with whom I have had two meetings recently, are positive.

"Comrade Hu Yaobang also discussed his country's foreign policy. He asserted his intention--which coincides with the concern we have for France--not to tolerate any attack on China's full sovereignty and dignity and to ensure that his country pursues a foreign policy which combines defense of its own independence with action to safeguard world peace and, from that viewpoint, he told us that the principles of peaceful coexistence are the basis of Chinese foreign policy.

"All that led us to exchange information on and discuss our respective assessments of the situation in several regions of the world. For my part I highlighted the new dimension of imperialism's aggressive policy--particularly that of U.S. imperialism--which can now be observed. The latter is intervening directly or indirectly in the Near East, Central America, Africa and Asia. It is stepping up its economic, financial and political pressure to try to force states and international institutions to bow to its law. It is reviving the dangerous and ruinous arms race. In the face of all these converging signs of imperialism's increased aggressiveness we think that there is no more urgent task for all the anti-imperialist forces than to unite and take action in each country and at international level for peace, justice and freedom.

"Our CPC interlocutors also explained their viewpoint. We noted that there are many points of agreement in our analyses of the international situation. However, I must tell you that, as regards the situation in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, our respective positions, which are well known, remained unchanged but we discussed them. And we both advocated the search for a political settlement to these two problems.

"Finally, the third subject which we raised in our talks related to relations between our two parties, and I will return to that. What essential points should be drawn from what I have just said?

"That in addition to different assessments of some questions and differences of opinion, there is a broad area of agreement between the PCF and CPC which makes possible the development of cooperation and joint action.

"There is agreement on the major objective which we share: socialism. There is agreement on the need for each people to find its own path for building a socialist society which itself can only be original, which can only be conceived not on the basis of a model, but on the basis of each country's popular needs and national situation. Of course, we and our Chinese comrades know that the path which leads to socialism is full of pitfalls and difficulties. But, whatever socialism's present limits, we have not lost sight of and jointly stress its irreplaceable contribution to mankind's progress.

"There is agreement on each country's inalienable right to ensure respect for its independence, sovereignty and dignity, to oppose any foreign interference. Whatever its sources, and to guarantee its people the freedom to choose their own future.

"There is agreement--and this is obvious since we are communists--on the place which we give to the problem of maintaining world peace and the need for disarmament. It is vital to take significant steps in that direction.

"There is agreement on the urgent need to tackle in a resolute and practical way the problem of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and underdevelopment. All these scourges require the establishment of a new world economic order based on justice and mutual interest.

"There is agreement on the need to consolidate the development of relations between France and China, especially in the economic and cultural spheres.

"Finally there is agreement on establishing and developing the relations of friendship, solidarity and cooperation between our two parties. Those relations are based on clear foundations: independence, mutual respect, equal rights and noninterference. I am already in a position to tell you that our visit will lead to the establishment of a broad plan for cooperation between our two parties.

"What can I say in conclusion?

"Simply that we are henceforth going to have normal relations and fruitful cooperation with the CPC as we have with all communist and workers parties. That is a profoundly positive action which is in keeping with the desire to work for a new internationalism which was asserted at our 24th congress.

"We welcome that.

"Ladies and gentlemen, those are the few remarks which I wanted to make to you. I and the comrades in our delegation are now ready to answer your questions."

## Answers to Journalists' Questions

After making that statement, Georges Marchais answered journalists' questions.

Questioned on Sino-Soviet Relations, he stated that it is a matter which concerns the two states and the two parties involved. "We discussed that question simply from the angle of the effects which the problems between two socialist countries have at international level."

"Agreement was reached on drawing up a list of imperialism's threats: interventions in the Middle East, in southern Africa, in Central America and in Asia. As regards the CPC's assessment of the Soviet Union's foreign policy, it is entirely its responsibility," Georges Marchais stated. "However we agreed that it was desirable, although this is not within our province, for the right conditions to be created for new relations between the two parties and the two states."

With regard to Poland, "We have identical viewpoints on the fact that it is up to the Polish people themselves to solve the problems raised, particularly by introducing the far-reaching economic, social and democratic reforms which are necessary in that country."

[Question] Is the recognition of differences of opinion with Moscow and with Beijing the result of a single line which you adopt within the international communist movement?

[Answer] It is now possible to say that all the communist and workers' parties agree, although there may be slight differences of opinion, on the fact that it is appropriate to respect each party's independence and to approach differences and disagreements calmly and serenely in order to make progress toward the common objectives. [answer ends]

In reply to another question, Georges Marchais recalled the PCF congress' definition of the new internationalism.

[Question] Can it be said that a degree of unity in the communist movement is being achieved on new bases?

[Answer] It can be said that this unity exists, not in the organic sense of the term--we must be clear on that--but is taking on a new dimension on the bases which we mentioned. But this is a task which is not and never will be complete. [answer ends]

Questioned on Afghanistan, Georges Marchais recalled that the two sides had not changed their positions. "But we agreed that every effort must be made to progress toward a political settlement. Moreover, in that connection I must say--this is an entirely personal opinion--that I am reasonably optimistic."

[Question] You discussed internal policy in your statement. Why in Beijing? And why now?

[Answer] We do that each time we have a meeting with a communist party. That is to ensure that our interlocutors have a clear view of the PCF's strategy and policy. It is always useful because people distort our policy so much in our country that it is a good thing to explain it clearly ourselves. [answer ends]

Questioned on his health, Georges Marchais replied: "I feel very well. As you can see I am as fit as a fiddle."

[Question] After what you have seen in China are you not inclined to ask the French people to tighten their belts a little or accept some reduction in their living standards?

[Answer] If I adopted your view I would have deceived you when I told you that we do not think there is any model for building a socialist society. The French people want to live in French style. They want to live better and think that France has enough advantages for that to be possible. There is no question of us participating in the implementation of an austerity policy. Moreover, that would run counter to the pledges made by the president of the republic.

[Question] Why have you waited until now to restore relations with the CPC?

[Answer] We have not waited. We decided to restore normal relations with the CPC a long time ago. The present result is the fruit of those efforts. I do not regret the fact that we approached our problems patiently and serenely. Relations have now been restored on clear and strong foundations.

[Question] How does Vietnam fit into this concept of interparty relations?

[Answer] We already have broad cooperation with the Vietnamese Communist Party. Moreover we have relations with all communist parties. [answer ends]

With regard to Kampuchea, Georges Marchais recalled that it is necessary to move toward a political solution and that, from that viewpoint, France should play an active role.

[Question] Do you think progress has been made in relations between Moscow and Beijing?

[Answer] That will require effort on both sides. But the 12th CPC congress and our discussions with Comrade Hu Yaobang make me optimistic. I know that I am optimistic by nature but it is nonetheless a well-founded optimism.

CSO: 3519/83

## MARCHAIS ON MAO, KHRUSHCHEV; SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

PM211251 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 18 Oct 82 p 10

[Report by Jean-Emile Vidal: "Conversation With Journalists in Tiananmen Square"]

[Text] After the visit which the PCF delegation made to Mao Zedong's tomb on Saturday morning [16 October], and before the visit to the forbidden city and then, in the afternoon, to the Great Wall, [PCF secretary general] Georges Marchais gave impromptu answers to the questions which journalists asked him in Tiananmen Square.

Asked whether he was satisfied with the initial talks and with the way in which the PCF delegation has been welcomed in China, Georges Marchais replied in particular: "We are very satisfied. As you yourselves have observed, very great importance has been attached to our delegation. We are acutely aware of that. But the most important thing is the way in which the discussions have gone. They are direct, open and friendly. We are having real dialogue of the kind for which we had hoped.

"In the past I have frequently regretted the rather rigid form of international meetings and the speeches delivered on both sides. For our part we have broken with that method for many years. We prefer debate, discussion and the comparison of ideas in order to make progress. That is precisely the method which has been used here with our interlocutors."

Questioned on the significance of the visit which the PCF delegation had just made to Mao Zedong's tomb, Georges Marchais replied:

"This visit strikes me as important for two reasons. The first is that Mao Zedong played a very great role in China and also at international level. He was a great revolutionary. The second reason is that I am personally satisfied with the way in which the CPC is now examining Mao Zedong's revolutionary activity, highlighting the positive aspects which far outweigh the negative aspects which are not being concealed. That is a concept which I like very much. I am opposed to extremes, to rejection after the event, in one direction or another. In other words I am opposed to extreme glorification or criticism rejecting the man's whole work and whole contribution to revolutionary activity."

Questioned on the role which he thinks Mao Zedong's Thought had, Georges Marchais replied:

"That is a vast question. As you know our party, at its 23d congress, replaced the expression "Marxism-Leninism," which we previously used to describe our theory, with that of "scientific socialism." Does that mean that we reject the contribution made by Marx and Lenin? Certainly not. Marx and Engels were the founders of our theory. Lenin made a considerable contribution to developing it. What is true is that other revolutionaries also contributed to this. That is true of Maurice Thorez in our country and Gramsci in Italy."

"In addition there is the experience of building a socialist society in various countries and in diversity. We are learning from that. It is in that framework that we view Mao Zedong's contribution."

"But, you know, we could talk of many other contributions, and other revolutionaries who have made great contributions. For instance, it is true of Nikita Khrushchev, because of his courageous denunciation of Stalin's crimes, his action to restore socialist legality and his contribution to the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence."

"But surely the Chinese could not agree with you under any circumstances?" a journalist asked.

"I am not so sure about that," Georges Marchais replied. "Let us take an example: one of the CPC's objectives today is the struggle for peace. Peaceful coexistence and disarmament, democracy and socialist legality are important aspects of its action. Now, as I have just said, Nikita Khrushchev made a great contribution on precisely those questions. Of course, by that I certainly do not mean that the CPC is aligning with Khrushchev..."

A journalist asked whether Khrushchev did not also have negative aspects.

"Yes, undoubtedly, but it seems that he was mainly criticized for administrative errors," Georges Marchais replied, and he concluded:

"You see, to be faithful to Marxism, what is necessary is a living science based on dialectical materialism and categorical rejection of all dogmatism. It was Lenin himself who said: scientific socialism is the practical examination of practical questions."

CSO: 3519/83

## MARCHAIS ON NEW INTERNATIONALISM, LIBERATION FORCES

PM270927 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 22 Oct 82 p 10

[Unattributed report on statements by PCF secretary general Georges Marchais in reply to questions asked by students at Fudan University in Shanghai on 21 October]

[Text] After his speech Georges Marchais answered the three questions asked by the students.

In reply to the first two questions, which related to France's domestic problems, the PCF secretary general demonstrated that the question facing the leftwing government is that of "continuing and going ahead," which presupposes "overcoming the obstacles we encounter." Those obstacles are found inside the country owing to pressure from the rightwing forces and leading economic and financial circles and also outside owing to "pressures from imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism."

"In order to thwart those pressures," Georges Marchais stressed, "it is not enough to indulge in incantations: it is necessary to struggle. The manual and intellectual workers must increasingly take action, not only to support the government's positive measures but to make their demands known and to ensure that they are not regarded as pawns on a chessboard but as men and women taking part in building a new society."

"Everything will ultimately depend on that, our ability to rally all the workers and unite all the forces, without exception, which advocated change by electing Francois Mitterrand as president of the republic and which enabled a leftwing government to be formed."

"Obviously talking about the workers' struggles included the need for the PCF to play its role fully, while respecting its alliances and also by the constant assertion of its original character which makes it the workers' revolutionary party."

## A New Internationalism

The third question related to our party's concept of that "new internationalism" which Georges Marchais had discussed in his speech.

The PCF secretary general replied that our party's deep attachment to internationalism means that it no longer regards that notion "in the same way as the founders of scientific socialism--Marx and Engels--and as Lenin, who contributed to the enrichment of that theory. Since then a great deal of water has passed under the bridge and the world has changed. It is, therefore, necessary to take account of the new conditions governing struggles in the world today.

Explaining the content of this notion of new internationalism, Georges Marchais stressed that its first aspect relates "not only to the rights of but the vital need for each people, in each country, to build a socialist society in their way." He developed the "fundamental question" which he had explained in his speech, namely that "nowhere is it possible to refer to a model" to build that new society.

The second aspect of the new internationalism relates to the new relations being established between communist and workers' parties.

"There is no longer a communist international," Georges Marchais stressed. "There is no longer either a world or regional 'center' of the communist movement. And relations among communist parties should be developed on the basis of independence, mutual respect, equal rights and noninterference."

In that framework different assessments and disagreements are "natural": "Why," the PCF secretary general asked, "should all communist parties think in exactly the same way at the same time and give the same answer to all questions? What is necessary is to ensure that the differences of opinion and disagreements do not jeopardize interparty relations on the basis which I have just recalled, and that they do not prevent them taking joint action for the major objectives they share."

From that viewpoint, Georges Marchais cited the example of the new cooperation relations being established by the French and Chinese communist parties.

Finally, the third aspect of the new internationalism relates to the need to take into consideration "all the forces progressing in the world as it is today."

Our party's secretary general listed the forces among which there should be international solidarity: the communist parties, whether they are helping their peoples to build socialism or acting in the capitalist countries; the progressive parties which are in power and the national liberation forces which, after struggling to "cast off the colonialist chains" are now taking action to liberate their peoples "from hunger, poverty, illiteracy and underdevelopment"; the forces struggling to promote peace and disarmament, the considerable movement growing up in Europe "against the arms race, to prevent the United States from deploying its new Pershing and cruise weapons which would increase the dangers of war on this continent"; the forces which are uniting in most capitalist countries



to defend the environment; the women's movement "for equal rights in all spheres"; and finally the socialist and social democratic parties "with which we can carry out joint actions on specific issues."

"Even though relations among communist parties have special importance, limiting internationalism to the communist party movement would deprive the movement of considerable forces from moving toward social progress, independence, peace, democracy and socialism," Georges Marchais concluded.

CSO: 3519/83

## RESULTS OF SECOND ROUND OF ELECTIONS ANALYZED

Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Marc Marceau: "Ambiguous Tactical Success for Socialists"]

[Text] Athens--The second round of the municipal elections on Sunday 24 October did not do away with the ambiguities present in the first round. If the PASOK lost the "psychological battle," it did achieve a tactical success. Indeed, it won in four-fifths of the municipalities and will thus be able to emphasize its policy of decentralization and reinforcement of local jurisdiction. However, it can no longer claim to enjoy 48 percent of the vote, as had been the case in the 1981 parliamentary elections: for the moment, its strength is of the order of 38 percent.

For its part, the New Democracy party (opposition) progressed from 4 to 5 percent in comparison with 1981, but it lost most of the municipalities it previously controlled. It also lost the battles of prestige in Athens, Piraeus and Salonica.

As for the communist party, it registered an advance of approximately 6 percent as compared to 1981, having benefited from the right to vote given to 18-year-olds and from various local situations. This party has also gained strength in a greater number of municipalities. However, it lost to the socialists in alliance with the KKE (int) eurocommunists a certain number of its bastions in the red suburbs of Athens and Piraeus. Within the context of these municipal elections, it is estimated that the present total strength of the Greek communist movement is around 22 percent (communist party 17 percent, the "interior" party 4 percent and 1 percent for various Marxist-Leninist parties). It remains to be seen whether the advances made by the communist party are superficial or not. At the time of the 1978 municipal elections, this party had won over 16 percent of the vote in Athens, only to regress to 14 percent during the 1981 legislative elections.

Municipal elections are still a very particular political and psycho-sociological phenomenon. Purely local problems, the candidates' personalities, opposing interests and the rivalry between local associations indeed affect the entire political situation.

CSO: 3519/90

## PAPER CRITICIZES MARXIST PARTY FOR BLOCKING AIRPORT FUNDS

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 18 Sep 82 p 22

[Editorial: "The Airport and the Government"]

[Text] On 8 September the communists used their veto power and rejected the proposal of Olafur Johannesson, minister of foreign affairs, to discuss the construction of a new airport at the Keflavik field. On 1 October the financing contained in the United States Budget for building the airport ceases to be available. It was due to the arguments of Icelandic politicians that the United States Congress sanctioned providing 20 million dollars for the airport. The agreement about this was made when Einar Agustsson, a Progressive like Olafur Johannesson, was minister of foreign affairs. Iceland, however, has been unable to keep the agreement in spite of the fact that a Progressive is minister of foreign affairs. This is because the chairman of the Progressive Party has given the communists a veto power in the matter.

After the communists rejected the proposal of the minister of foreign affairs in the government, he said that the ministers should consider whether or not it would be advisable for the Americans to extend their offer of financing. But that proposal raises a question. How does Olafur Johannesson propose to justify his request? Hitherto the Progressives have refused to poll the Althing on the right of the 11 People's Alliance Althing delegates to determine what will be done about building the airport. Does Olafur Johannesson plan to fight to have his proposal, which was killed in the government, revived again during the very first days of the new Althing session? Or is he going to discuss the matter with the Americans to see if they will extend the offer of financing until a new government is formed in Iceland.

The only explanation of the recalcitrance of the communists in the airport issue is that they will heave the government if the Althing approves the proposal of Olafur Johannesson with the support of the Progressives. The government lacks an effective majority in the lower house. In addition, a sufficient number of Althing delegates in both houses support the proposal which, if brought up in the Althing, will, in all likelihood, split the government. Olafur Johannesson will in fact discuss this with the United States Government to obtain a long enough extension to be able to destroy the communists in the Althing over the issue. The words of the minister can only be understood to mean that the well-known "political foresight" of the People's Alliance ministers has made the airport the magical hat of the government. It is now in the hands of Ronald Reagan's government.

There is still a deuce in the deck, however, Steingrimur Hermannsson, Progressive Party chairman. He has expressed his displeasure that Einar Agustsson was unable to secure a promise from the Americans to pay for the entire airport. However, it is probably dangerous to take Steingrimur Hermannsson's avowal too seriously since it was he who gave the communists a veto power when the government was formed. Is Steingrimur Hermannsson in agreement with Olafur Johannesson's attempt to extend an agreement that he was opposed to?

Olafur Johannesson must come to an agreement with the Americans to put off construction of the airport until after the government has fallen. It is advisable that Johannesson explain to others in Washington besides ministers why the agreement needs to be extended. But there is also another side to the airport issue: will the communists make the building of the airport an obstacle to forming a government when the government is identical to the one in power at present. If that happens Icelandic politics will be in chaos and deadlock. We can only say to the People's Alliance: If you continue to be against the airport, stay out of the government. Can't someone in the party reply to this?

The government's conduct in the airport issue has been shameful. It will most likely be difficult for Olafur Johannesson to take a reasonable position in the discussions with the Americans. In this issue, as in others, the government has imperiled the economic interests of the people. It is none the less praiseworthy that one minister is trying to save what he can.

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CSO: 3626/1

POLITICAL

ICELAND

BRIEFS

GRONDAL NAMES STOCKHOLM AMBASSADOR--Former prime minister and People's Party chairman Benedikt Grondal has resigned his seat as a People's Party Althing delegate. He has become ambassador to Sweden and submitted his credentials as ambassador to Carl Gustav XVI, the king of Sweden, on 2 September. Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, People's Party Secretary and Grondal's deputy in the Althing, will take over his seat. [Text] [Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 8 Sep 82 p 2] 9857

CSO: 3626/1

## TEJERO INTERVIEWED IN PRISON ON POLITICAL VIEWS

Amsterdam ELSEVIERS MAGAZINE in Dutch 9 Oct 82 pp 51-53

[Report on interview with Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molino by Jeanne McDonough: "Conversation in a Spanish Prison -- Tejero: 'My Country Needs Me'"]

[Text] Last year, Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molino shocked the world when, with gunfire, he attempted to overthrow the Spanish parliament and establish a military dictatorship. The arrested officers, who were unmasked this weekend as the instigators of a new coup, maintained close ties with Tejero, who received a 30 year sentence and who spends his days in great luxury in a Madrid prison. A special ELSEVIERS correspondent managed to see him in prison.

"I don't know what time it is." Lieutenant Colonel Antonio Tejero Molino (50 years old) showed his muscular tanned arm: "I no longer wear a watch. The new Spanish democracy has sentenced me to 30 years in prison."

Together with a number of other upper level officers, who participated in the abortive coup of 23 February 1981, the flamboyant Spanish colonel was transferred to a secret isolation prison when the plans for a new coup, the so-called operation "Cervantes," became known. Their stay in prison is now substantially different from the good old days. The days of a Hollywood-like stay in prison have drastically changed for him and his fellow prisoners. Nevertheless, "Tony Tejero" (as his friends call him) met with a special ELSEVIERS correspondent in his receiving room for an interview. "Yes," he said, "if the country needs me, I will do the same thing I did on 23 February 1981."

The upper level officer of the Guardia Civil, who pointed his pistol at the whole Spanish parliament in his attempted coup, which bewildered the world, was relaxed in his comfortable suite in one of the buildings of the Guardia Civil in Madrid where he now resides. Together with four other instigators of this coup, he has now been transferred from a luxurious military prison to Madrid, primarily to avoid personal quarrels with fellow prisoners. "I feel quite at home here," smiled Tejero while looking with satisfaction around his prison suite, which is less luxurious than that of some of his

comrades. Tejero has to make do without air conditioning and with factory made furniture and upholstery. The lieutenant colonel, who is adored by many women in Spain's rightwing circles as a "macho" sex symbol, appears very relaxed about his future. During his imprisonment, Tejero has started studying law and economy. "But I'm going to stop that now," he said. "I no longer have time for it. I have to concentrate on my most important task: to help Spain, my Spain. My lawyer, Angel Lopez, wants me to continue to study, but no, no, no....," he said, shaking his head. With moisture gleaming in his brown eyes, which women find so irresistible, Tejero admitted that he enjoys his "visit" in the prison. "I only have to push the bell to get tea, coffee, food and anything I need. Normally speaking, I get up at 7:30 am and order my breakfast with coffee. That is great. At home I would have to wait for it: my wife gets up later."

After breakfast, Tejero, the father of six children, exercises for an hour and a half on a parking place surrounded by trees. "I come from Malaga in Andalusia, but I'm crazy about the Basque ball game 'pelota'." Laughing happily, he explained how he had developed his own "pelota" game: "I devised my own Tejero games, which you can play by yourself." Then he demonstrated his favorite pastime: a "pelota" raquet with a small ball attached to it by a long string. "Hence, I am my own opponent. I have to remain fit. I do my exercises by myself, I jog, I go to church by myself, I eat by myself and I watch television by myself."

In prison he is still allowed to wear his uniform with decorations; he may have visitors between 8 o'clock in the morning and 5 o'clock in the afternoon -- except for reporters and photographers. Women especially like to pay him visits: sometimes the line of those waiting outside is nearly 1 kilometer long. Outside these visiting hours, he can only see his lawyer and his wife. The female correspondent was allowed to see Tejero alone, to the great displeasure of many female visitors and of his personal guards. "You see," he said proudly, "I still have some influence."

Does he ever contemplate escape?

"No, I don't intend to do that, unless I can strike the enemy which has destroyed Spain (editor: he referred to the new democracy after Franco)."

As a matter of fact, the enemy is not only that new democracy; there is also the Basque ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group], the terrorist separatist movement which, if he had anything to say about it, Tejero would deal summarily with. He is also extremely unhappy about what he considers to be the economic chaos allegedly caused by that democracy. At that moment, pictures appeared on television about the war in Lebanon. He refused to comment on the events there, but he did exclaim: "Blood must never flow. True, I did use my pistol that time in the Spanish parliament. I am, after all, a member of the Guardia Civil. I have used my pistol against ETA terrorist in the North and against bandits in the mountains of Andalusia. How am I to take a stand then against my enemies in parliament? Some of them could have been armed. A member of the Guardia Civil must protect himself. My order on 23 February was: no bloodshed. No blood was shed."

Again lighting an American cigarette, he said: "I stopped smoking 9 years ago, but due to the recent circumstances I have started up again. My friends send me cartons of cigarettes." His bench is covered with presents from visitors, including bottles of whiskey and food.

He shares these presents in a brotherly manner with his guards, who consequently value him highly. "Yes, I eat like a king," said Tejero. "My lunch this noon consisted of a grill with a delicious sauce, small peas with fried potatoes, preceded by exquisite small sardines with melon, which I received from my son. I am also very happy with my new video-recorder. People are very generous with me."

Tejero, who is running for office in the next Spanish elections, figures that he has at least 70,000 fervent followers. "Just wait and see how the people vote in the elections. They want peace and order. They want me!"

Following last weekend's events, his candidacy will very probably not be accepted, to the great displeasure of his political friends. "And meanwhile they do allow imprisoned ETA terrorists to run for office," said Tejero.

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CSO: 3614/7



## FRAGA ON CAMPAIGN, PARTY, POLITICAL ISSUES

Madrid LOS DOMINGOS DE ABC in Spanish 3 Oct 82 pp 21-26

[Report on interview with Manuel Fraga by Josefina Martinez del Alamo, in Barcelona; date not specified]

[Text] I have a complete, splendid biography of him, a brilliant biography: He was born in Villalba (Lugo) in 1922, the son of emigrants to Cuba and grandson of peasants. He studied law, and managed to enroll in all, absolutely all of the courses. He entered the Institute of Political Sciences and the Diplomatic School, and is a professor of theory of the state and constitutional law. He has more than 100 decorations, and his political career is by now well known. He works 17 hours a day. He enjoys poetry, and plays chess and dominoes (but he doesn't play cards). His hobbies are hunting and fishing. "In my father-in-law's family, they used to say that people who were not good for anything else became involved in politics. And in my father's town, they think that all hunters and fishermen are idlers.. So, you see: here I am." And he laughs, pointing to himself. In the past, he collected hunting trophies; now he collects cartoons. In the past, he enjoyed good food; he used to like turbot and Fino La Ina; now, he denies himself. He does not smoke, virtually does not drink and does not eat anything between meals. He always wears vertical-striped suits, which make his figure more slender. And, above all, above all, he will not allow his time to be wasted.

At the airport, Mr Fraga looks at my luggage and smiles: "You are overloaded, aren't you?" And he offers to carry my bag.

For 48 hours, Mr Fraga carries the bag through the Barajas airport and the Prat, and never forgets to make way for me, offering me a seat, a drink or coffee; and he is always smiling amiably. Nevertheless, I have the odd feeling that he has not seen me yet. And I feel like an unnoticed shadow that is inevitably following him everywhere.

The green Volvo that awaits us in Barcelona has been equipped with the most modern safety devices: bulletproof windows, an armored body, a siren, a red pilot light on the roof, and a device which covers the car with cooling foam, in the event of fire or explosion. The green Volvo's dashboard has as many buttons as the control module of the Concorde. But the display of mechanical gadgets has proven useless, because during these 2 days Mr Fraga has not traveled even once in the green Volvo.

I am holding the schedule planned for the weekend:

One: Arrival at the Prat airport at 1000 hours, and transfer to the Popular Alliance headquarters on ....Street.

Two: Press conference at the headquarters at 1030 hours.

Three: The press conference ends at 1115 hours. Visit to the City Hall, and interview with....

Four: Opening of the headquarters in Manresa, Navas, Tarrasa, Sabadell, Sardanyola, Sitges....dinners, banquets, visits. At 0900 hours, Holy Mass; at 1000 hours, meeting with the provincial junta; at 1330 hours, a brief swim at Sitges beach. More dinners, more speeches and interviews, appetizers....And all in 48 short hours, with everything measured to the minute. So many seconds for chatting, so many seconds for hand-shaking and 5 minutes for a stroll through the town of Manresa; and ...one, two, three....Like snapping one's fingers, without taking a breath.

The life, and the day of Manuel Fraga has a dizzying pace, resembling a Billy Wilder film. He lives at such speed that he is by now irretrievably addicted to haste.

"What do you interpret as wasting time?"

"Well, that is a notion with almost philosophical depth. I admit that what some consider wasting time is gaining it to others. To a Jesuit, a Carthusian monk is probably wasting time, and to the Carthusian monk, the Jesuit priest is less efficient. It is a matter of viewpoint, isn't it? To the man who builds bridges, perhaps poets are useless; and yet the bridge may collapse or be forgotten sooner than the poem. You see, I am not making final judgments. But, since enthusiasm for work and promptness is not overly common in our time, it seems to me that my best way of contributing would be that precisely: to have things done on time in a country wherein there are so many things remaining to be done. And, of course, to me wasting time is obviously not making use of it.

"I am an activist. I admit it. I am what used to be called, when I was born, during the 1920's (a lot of water has gone under the bridge since then, hasn't it?), a 'professor of energy.' But I realize that there is not just one type of intelligence. Pascal said so: There is the spirit of geometry and the spirit of refinement; there is an analytical talent and a talent of intuition. And, as Whitehead pointed out, the intelligence with which Plato talked with the gods is not the same as the one with which Ulysses talked with the foxes. Everything is needed, and I understand it. But, just as I respect others, I ask them to respect me."

"Of course, it is only logical."

"No, no....Sometimes they say of the activist: 'Beware! Because he steps on more corns than others, if you don't lift your foot in time.' They forgive them less, isn't that so? And I don't see why."

"Do you easily forgive the weaknesses of others?"

"The years make you understanding; and understanding means forgiving and accepting, and always doubting. Perhaps that man whom I am judging is a human being who carries within him just one poem, just one essay...but unsurpassable. Men like Rilke or Amiel were not always understood; and yet, there they are.

"As for the everyday weaknesses, I can more readily stand those which do not harm others. For example, smoking and drinking harm only the ones who engage in them, isn't that so? But the weakness of driving along at great speed, and having in front of you two little old ladies who do not react on time, could be unforgivable. I can better accept the weaknesses that stem from human nature itself (there are people for whom it is difficult to rise early); and that manner of carrying their own nature with dignity and grace is even nice. On the other hand, lying, slander, injustice and cowardice seem repugnant to me. And I have seen so much of that in my life! During times of transition and change, one sees more than one would like."

"And how do you react to your own weaknesses?"

"The fact is that we don't always notice our own weaknesses. But I am less indulgent with mine than with those of others; because that is how it should be, isn't it? The active person is more implacable with himself, because he is constantly demanding more of himself. Although it is a good thing to realize, as Mauricio Haoriou has remarked, that the individual always aims higher than the point that he reaches later; that you never achieve what you set out to do, because in the end something is missing. But, if one looks upward each day, he will progress. I often repeat this: politics is the art of the possible but, to accomplish anything, one must always aim for the impossible."

He has a pleasant, but aloof voice. His eyes are always directed into the distance or upward. His life has been so much a series of different faces that it cannot stop on any countenance. When you reach the terrifying figure of 100 or 200 faces a day, 100 hand-shakes, and 100 forced smiles, all men lose their identity. Then they begin to count only the titles obtained, the unrepeatable data: the notary of...., the great surgeon...., the professor of....

One of Popular Alliance's young hopes complained sadly: "Mr Fraga concentrates too much on the biographies, the university courses, the enrollments and the number ones. He yields to a notary or a state attorney. Hence, we are concerned that he may succumb to the same temptation: heading the lists with the bright last-minute professionals, those who arrive at the end of the line and squeeze in front of the ones without titles or laurels who have spent years working in the shadows."

"Mr Fraga, there are members of your party who are greatly concerned about the formation of the lists for the elections."

"You must understand that, in Spain, we must become used to distinguishing between two political roles: That of the one who works in the shadows and who strives for his party, and that of the other, who always takes a place in the leading positions."

And both are valuable and necessary. But here, everyone dreams about heading the lists.

"And of course there are some who claim that I like those who are number one. Well, there is nothing bad about being number one; because it requires great effort and great ability. Two positions are fitting with respect to an unknown person: to look at his qualifications, the positions that he held, the functions that he has discharged...or to calibrate his cleverness, his skill, etc. And I know that the second is the most important. But I also know that human nature is complex, and part of it is engaged in concealing its own flaws and in valuing and demonstrating its virtues. You see, if a woman shows her legs, it means that she had pretty legs; and if she wears boots, quite often it means that...she doesn't want to show them. For this reason, one must know the background of a person. One would have to be an intuitive genius to judge the worth of a person, disregarding his achievements. My experience has confirmed to me that those old sayings that the proverbs used to contain are true: "He who does not know at 20, who is not at 30 or who has not at 40, will never know, be or have anything." In other words, the same virtues are not required of one at each age. At 20, a man must prove his ability in studies and sports. At 30, he must have converted that knowledge into positions and presence. And, at 40, he must have a family, economic backing and a home. And that is the logical path; because, normally, at 50, geniuses are not discovered. Every time you see a flashing rise, the person who has been nothing and whom you suddenly see heading the government (as in the case of Suarez, for example), prepare to observe the passage of a shooting star, the fall of which will affect many things. On the other hand, the one who began as a governor, and was later general director, and afterwards undersecretary, and who has left accomplishments in each post: that is a safe person."

In Manresa, the headquarters to be opened is located on the fourth floor, near the roof. After climbing a narrow, steep, staircase, you are reassured by the light entering the small room in abundant rays. There is a large poster with Fraga's smiling photograph attached to the wall, and a table covered with the Spanish flag.

With stifling heat (between the sun and the relentless focusing of the photographers), fitted tightly into his gray suit, with a buttoned shirt and tie, Mr Fraga perspires imperviously and speaks smoothly.

There are people wearing coarse twill pants with their shirtsleeves rolled up, resembling small businessmen or independent dealers, who nod and concur with gratification when Fraga tells them that, "The politicians are playing 'you leave, so that I may take over.'"

Next, the stroll along La Rambla, letting himself be recognized, and allowing all the greetings; and the glass of beer at the street stand. In passing, I hear a surprised voice: "Well, he is nice, isn't he?"

And later, the dinner at Navas, and the conversation: "Mr Fraga, you haven't said anything about taxes, and that issue is killing us...."

And the businessman who rises and remarks: "I work 24 hours a day, striving to get ahead. And I wonder whether we businessmen will have sufficient strength and

tolerance to continue waiting for Manuel Fraga to reach us." And Fraga's quick response: "You work 24 hours a day. Well, find a 25th hour and devote it to the party. Then you will see how we shall win."

A member of the provincial junta smiles: "I always say that if Manuel Fraga were a Socialist, many of these people would vote for PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]. They are sworn followers of him to that extent."

I remark to a girl from the executive body: "You in the party adore him, don't you?"

"I am delighted that you have said so. Yes, it is that precisely: we adore him."

"Mr Fraga, I return with the impression that the people do not belong to Popular Alliance, but rather to Fraga."

"This is a phenomenon that has been widely mentioned."

"I have seen you for 24 hours."

"Well, I have a different view. Of course, leadership is an important requirement in the democracies. In a democratic system, the people must ask themselves: For whom shall I vote today so as to be at ease later? Churchill, De Gaulle were great leaders because the people trusted in them at times of crisis. And we in Spain are undergoing times of crisis now. That is indisputable. And, of course, it is only natural for people to place their trust in the personages whom they consider to be the strongest. The same thing holds true in other parties, and there is less mention of it."

"Nevertheless, since the leftist parties take their support more from an ideology than from their leaders, they could appear to be more stable. On the other hand, today, upon seeing so many people excited and dedicated, I thought: What will all of them do if they lack Mr Fraga in the future?"

"No! I don't agree with that. You have cited a key word in the political terminology of our time: ideology. The ideologies, which are rather inflexible interpretations of the world, are far inferior to what we serious conservative parties uphold: a system of principles. Metternich has already made this distinction: in 1848. A young Spanish diplomat, Donoso Cortes, went to visit old Metternich, who had been expelled from his country by the revolution. And Metternich told him: 'Now, the revolution has triumphed, but we have a system of principles that is superior to any ideology; as superior as a revolving cannon is to a fixed cannon, which can only shoot through one gunhole.' A sound, serious system of principles, such as Christian humanism, for example, stands up much better than the ideologies do. Consider the Communist Party: its ideology has embarked on a crisis, and the party is going to the devil. The British conservative party, on the other hand, will never run that risk."

"All right, but what will become of Popular Alliance if Fraga is missing from it?"

"No one is irreplaceable. Everyone thought that Canovas could not be replaced; he was assassinated, and soon afterwards we had Maura, and so on."

"But the younger generation is concerned. They have recently told me that they should have a replacement for Fraga, because 'the right will win, it will end up winning. And then we shall need a leader of the king's generation. But leaders are not created from above. The appropriate person will only arrive if the cadres are reinforced.'"

"Consider the fact that no party has a secretary general as young as Mr Verstrynge. And our president in Andalucia is also young. This means that no one is doing as much as we to promote a basic organization for the future. I have always included young people in the party, so that there will be continuity; because the success of a party is like the success of a shop: the secret lies in putting new wine in the cask, so that it may become blended with the more aged wine. In this way, as you draw from the bottom, you will pour in at the top; and there will never be any emptiness.

"I believe in the youth, because they contribute all their enthusiasm, and because they are less tied to the past, less enslaved by memories. But I also know that they suffer from naivete. Therefore, they need someone beside them to give them experience."

"What concerns the younger people, precisely, is that names from other times may be included on the electoral lists."

"The press has covered that topic poorly. It is not a matter of Francoism or anti-Francoism, but rather of age. The youngest men want renewal; and the men with more experience want conservation. And it is understandable. The secretary general wanted the average age among the candidates to be lower. But those aged 50 prefer different candidates. And in Spain, traditionally, this means certain coincidences. The problem can be solved by using political circumspection. It will be necessary to make a cocktail in the best sense of the term: mature people and youth; people from cities and people from villages. That makes a good candidacy, like a good menu."

Manresa, Navas, Tarrasa, Sabadell, Sardanyola....In all, five headquarters, and a multitude of speeches and interviews.

As we cross one of the towns, a municipal police car recognizes Mr Fraga among the party; and, spontaneously, they decide to join us as far as the municipal limits, sounding their siren. Along the streets, the people turn around, surprised when they see the noisy entourage. Beside me, someone comments: "There it is: the police from a communist town hall escorting Manuel Fraga."

In Matadeperas, the banquet is crowded; it is followed by rallies, cheers and applause, and the anticipated bonfire. The procession of admirers, the signing of autographs, the photographs with the leader....A lady asks permission to be photographed with him, and places her hands on his shoulders.

An enthusiast rises: "Let's have a toast to Fraga."

And Fraga says: "No, let's have a toast to Spain."

"Spain is Fraga, and Fraga is Spain."

After the national anthem, listened to with respectful silence, the people chant ardently: 'Fra-ga, Fra-ga, Fra-ga.' And Popular Alliance's rhythmical, rousing anthem merges with the voices.

There is an air of openness, with bright smiles and glances fixed hypnotically on Fraga. And Fraga again lowers his gaze and applauds the audience softly. It is one of the great Fraga nights.

The ceremony (like all the ceremonies) ends with a profession of faith:

"I don't believe that the Socialists are going to win or that we shall have to wait another 4 years! No! Because we shall fight, and we shall win...."

And the people applaud, unrestrainably.

"Are they actually convinced that they will win?"

"I have always said that one must fight for what one believes, realizing that if you don't win today, you can win tomorrow. The important thing is to work hard. Many efforts are required to win elections. and many efforts are also required to govern after the elections; because if erroneous concessions have been made earlier, then they will not forgive you for them. And there are some who forget this. What is clear, of course, is that we were not born to be merely a testimonial group. We have proven this in Galicia and Andalucia."

"Well, let's suppose that the elections have already been held, and that you have won. Where would you begin to go into action?"

"The difficult part is the starting. When one receives a bad legacy, the bad part is the deterioration of the deterioration; the people's discouragement. Hence, the most urgent need would be the creation of confidence: giving an impression of reliability, telling the country the truth, not trying to deceive it with words. Churchill's best remark was the one about "blood, sweat and tears." He urged his people to fight and work, because solutions are never from a magic wand. And the people realized that it was worth the trouble. A government should not do many things, but rather create the conditions for others to be able to do them."

"Are security, unemployment and the autonomies the pressing problems for Popular Alliance?"

"At least they are present in all minds. They accuse us of making everything subordinate to security; and that is not the case. I believe that it is a necessary premise: there will be no investment so long as there is no security; and the issue of the autonomies will not be settled so long as the terrorists in the Basque Country control it; and so on.... Security means that the judges are backed, that the law is obeyed, and that for extraordinary situations (such as terrorism), extraordinary measures are adopted....and, generally speaking, that virtue has a price and that crime has a price, don't you agree? In short: he one who does it, pays for it; reasonably and legally, but he pays for it.

"And as for the unemployment, it is like fever: a symptom, not a disease. There is unemployment because jobs are not being created; and new jobs are not being created

because no one wants to invest. If you have a few million pesetas, and wonder whether you should expand your company, you begin to say to yourself: I am going to put in new workers, and bear tremendous costs for social security; and if the business does poorly, I cannot lay off anyone; nor do I have any guarantee that they will not go on a brutal strike, and blame it on me. And if I am in Renteria, for example, there is no assurance either that ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] will not intervene, and put a bullet through my head, or kidnap me, if I don't pay the revolutionary tax....So, do you think that anyone would dare to invest? The solution is clear: Change those conditions and the unemployment would be solved automatically.

"In Spain today, thousands of business owners are saying to themselves: 'If the bills are paid and the checks are covered, I shall invest. If everything is taken seriously, and things return to their channels, I shall invest.' And there is no other response. To build a society of protected unemployed would be foolishness. On the contrary, it would be necessary to have a kind of moratorium on the great social ideals, and to implement some exceptional expedients: for example, to agree to a 5 percent free layoff for reasons of productivity, and without explanation; or to have the unemployed workers integrated into a special work system (without contracts, etc.), knowing that, later on, they would move to a normal system. I mean to say: everything temporary, as an exception. And, nevertheless, with these measures, thousands of jobs would be created. One must have the courage to admit this, to call things by their proper name.

"And, thirdly, the autonomies....Now I don't think that the term 'autonomy' is bad per se. Terms are good or bad depending on how they are used. And, obviously, the autonomies, interpreted as new kinds of centralism, as increased taxes, as discrimination or as confrontation between regions, as an attempt to reestablish traditional languages where they were never spoken, is a nonsensical situation which Spain cannot allow. But the autonomies, interpreted as recognition of the differences among the Spanish regions, which enhance the national culture with their individual features, are good. You have observed in Catalonia that the sardanas continue to be composed in Catalan, and the habaneras in Spanish. In short: principle cannot be misused to separate the Spanish people, or to tolerate forms of violence. This must end now, through the state's action, and without considerations."

They have notified the press photographers to witness the brief swim at Sitges. Mr Fraga goes through the crowd of bathers and takes a few strokes. And the photographers, in bathing suits or jeans, follow him into the sea with cameras at the ready. When he emerges from the water, amid all the greetings, a young lady who is "topless" (wearing only the lower part of the bikini) approaches to extend her hand to him. The well-timed photographer is ready. But Fraga thanks her for the greeting, gazing fixedly on her hand: nothing more.

When we departed for the Barcelona airport, two motorcycle policemen make way for the car in which Mr Fraga is riding. Behind comes the green Volvo, with the security men. Upon reaching the Garraf coasts, they are so far ahead that we lose sight of the policemen, the car and Mr Fraga. Eduardo, who is responsible for his security, begins to worry. He tells the driver to step on the accelerator, and to make way however he must. And there goes the unstoppable Volvo, sounding the



horn as an emergency signal. And it is, to be sure, an emergency, circling the port of Garraf in the wrong direction, and dodging the cars which go by us whizzing, as in the best kind of American movie.

At the airport coffee shop, everything is noise, motion, and piled up luggage. Barajas is closed, owing to too many arrivals. But, amid so much uproar, Mr Fraga feels relaxed and in a good mood. He has just successfully completed his very tight 48-hour schedule. He speaks in a tone filled with laughter and, at times, a guffaw is emitted happily.

"Well, this is a 50 percent trip. I remember another one to the United States, with such a tight schedule that, when the printed program was distributed, an American remarked: 'You should recommend a good brand of vitamins at the end of each page; because they are absolutely essential for withstanding all this.'"

And Manuel Fraga laughs again with gratification.

"Does your family life proceed at the same pace?"

"Well, yes. I admit that it becomes unbearable for my closest relatives. But they have one compensation: I leave home often, and then they can relax. They say that, when I am abroad, even the noise is different, the sounds are different; and (he continues amid guffaws) nothing is the same, fortunately for them. And they take advantage of it, and rest, don't they?"

"And when do you rest?"

"Previously, I set aside one day a week to hunt and fish. Now, I have had to be satisfied with one escapade a month. And I await the date anxiously, because I sometimes need a change of scene."

"But don't you take some free time each day?"

"I must admit it: to me, free time is a mere break when one composes himself again to continue working. The time comes when the body warns you: 'Look, you can't do any more; for a minute, have a cup of coffee, take a walk, and then return.' But no more than that, never. Only the exact time it takes before beginning again."

"And do you seek a benefit in everything you do, even when you read, for example?"

"Not all reading is the same. But I always have the impression that I am preparing something, that what I read will be useful for something, won't it? It may be a quotation that I shall remember, or a new idea accumulated, or another item of information that I may have thrown into the computer, which is the brain."

"You fill your life with usefulness."

"Well, we would have to discuss the notion of usefulness; because I don't view most of these things as personal gain, but rather as a social function, as the fulfillment of an obligation. You see, I prefer to build a tourist hostelry rather than

a country house for myself. And with that established, well yes: a usefulness in a general sense."

"But you must understand that not everyone has the same ability that you have...."

"Well, of course! And not only that, I shall go still further: I make fun of myself, because I know how annoying people like me are. And I realize that there must be different types of men: men capable of doing different things. We need poets, and we need eccentrics, and, I wouldn't say that we need idlers, do we? But we do need people who spend time differently. However, it would never occur to me to appoint such people as general secretaries of anything, of course."

He speaks with ease (Mr Fraga, like a good politician, already knows all the questions and all the answers). He speaks without stopping in his remarks, and his eyes wander unceasingly over all the shadows crossing the airport. His attention is divided among the people passing by, among the noises that arise, the rancid coffee and the water without bubbles, the tape recorder and my poorly supported baggage which sometimes collapses.

"Do you yourself admit to having made political mistakes?"

"Of course, I wonder about it constantly; and I certainly have made them. But in the essential matters I have not been wrong. I have started nearly all the ideas that have been used in recent years (that of the center, that of the natural majority and that of reform). And, afterwards, some have accepted them, others have disputed them and some attempted to imitate them. And I am not talking about the great eternal ideas, which, naturally, I would not claim for myself. I do not want to do what a governor from my area did, insisting on dedicating the wall of Lugo, which the Romans built, just because he had restored it slightly. What is unquestionable is the fact that we have always been in the goal area; although sometimes, we have shot more forcefully than at other times. And I do not have the feeling of having forced anyone along erroneous paths."

"Nevertheless, in 1977 many people considered it a political mistake for you to have become allied with individuals who had previously been your rivals...."

"Those are tactical errors; and there are some. But since this involves judging persons, I shall not express an opinion on it. In any event, being wrong about small things does not matter if one is right about the main things. And I feel increasingly certain about what is essential."

"To be sure, there are indisputable and metaphysical truths; but there are others which depend on one's viewpoint. At the age of 20, we are all more dogmatic; the young are created with blows from an intellectual ax. Time and life give you the real perspective. You are familiar with this: a baby elephant marching behind the herd thinks that the world is a kind of forest, because all he sees are the feet of his elders. And this is no mistake, no; it is that he cannot see beyond. Because at times we are convinced that our view is very broad, but we are lacking in an important item to complete it."

"The other day, I dined with a gentleman who made me nervous, because, when discussing some very controversial topics, he kept saying in a thundering tone:

'This is an indisputable truth!' But the truth is neither black nor white. As Eugenio d'Ors wrote, the truth is tinged with shadings, the truth is iridescent."

Amid his courteous tone, the fatigue of the 15 interviews granted begins to appear. In 48 hours, he has answered hundreds of questions, perhaps the same 100 questions perpetually repeated. I go on selecting topics and, finally, inevitably, there appear before me the notes taken on his character, the comments that I have been collecting from various individuals and various interviews. And I confess that I voice them, timidly, in a hesitant, fearful tone....

"There are some who think that you...."

For a moment, the expression hardens; there is a silence which makes me tense. But Manuel Fraga looks toward the corridor again, and ends up replying in his best calm tone:

"I am not arrogant; on the contrary. I have always been very much aware of my limitations. I am infuriated only by liars and cowards; then I am. But this is where my arrogance ends.

"It is possible that I have not always had a kind word for others; it is possible. I admit that my lack of time makes me appear to be rather unconcerned about people's problems. Nevertheless, I believe that I am quite sensitive. But perhaps it is so...perhaps I have not been careful enough about my comments.

"One can be temperamental and brainy at the same time. Of course! I don't know anyone who lacks temperament. Character is the result of the temperament that takes control of itself. It is futile to go against what comes to you by fate. One cannot contradict the 'creative and personal image of a person to the grave,' because temperament must be improved, perfected and put to better use. In any event, there is a very well-known comment: 'Some people have excesses, rather than defects.' Well then, perhaps I am one with an excess."

"Conversely, Mr Fraga, everyone recognizes one virtue in you: no one doubts your absolute honesty."

"There is no absolute honesty; but, of course, I have placed great value on private and public ethics. And I think that I am a reasonable example of the fact that a politician can hold influential positions without allowing himself to be affected by certain politico-financial temptations."

"And perhaps what they most admire in you is that image of yours of always showing your face."

"Well, that is a trait which I have tried to cultivate; and, furthermore, I try to instill it in others. Because I think that a society which produces more people like that will defend itself better and will be more worthwhile. The saying: look, here I am: this is what I believe, this is my ground, this is what my parents taught me; I upheld this before, and I shall not change it. All that is what makes life worth living; and then let the chips fall where they may." And he keeps glancing toward the side.

Toward the end of the trip, the plane crosses a thick, gray cloud; we are flying higher than usual. The voice on the loudspeaker advises us that "the landing will be slightly delayed. We ask you to keep your seatbelts fastened." Minor waves of instability shake us, like a cocktail shaker and, in spite of myself, I note my cold face and wet hands. Mr Fraga turns his head and looks at me. He smiles, takes out his unblemished white handkerchief and extends it to me. And he starts talking to me as if to a child whom one wants to protect from fright: "Now, the plan will shake a little again, because the clouds...."

I look at him. At that moment, confronted with my obvious fear, I have the impression that he has just seen me.

2909

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## EREN SEES TURKEY IN STRONG NEGOTIATING STAND WITH GREECE

Istanbul GUNAYDIN in Turkish 26 Sep 82 p 6

[Article by Ambassador Nuri Eren: "Turkey Is Strong Enough to Make Greece Talk"]

[Text] French President Francois Mitterrand's Greek visit, though an event worthy of attention as regards Turkish foreign relations, has failed to capture the interest of the Turkish public. This lack of concern, even though it is possible to attribute it to the priority of such events as constitutional discussions, Kastelli's arrest and the Arab summit, might better be laid to the Turkish people's dislike of France. France has consistently denigrated Turkey for the past 20 years, not just among the NATO partners but among the nations, friendly and unfriendly, with which we maintain relations, and has always acted with a coldness bordering on antipathy, not just as regards terrorists, but in NATO, the Council of Europe and the OECD community. Our foreign minister's courtesy visit last year took place in the shadow of a discourtesy inconsistent with the simplest hospitality. With its overweening support of Greece in a matter as important to NATO strategic interests as Cyprus and the Aegean, [France] has helped block resolution of the most important topics of NATO strategy in the Aegean.

## Hostility Harking Back to De Gaulle

All French presidents in recent years, starting with De Gaulle, have made official visits to France. Whatever the circumstances in Greece, Athens has been a watering place for French ministers. Within 10 months after Mitterand took office, six French ministers, including the prime minister, had made individual visits. Mitterand has brought six ministers with him this time.

The French-Turkish alienation, if one were to look, began with De Gaulle. Both private, personal reasons and the supernationalist mentality of megalomania that De Gaulle epitomized had a role in this.

Famed for holding a grudge, De Gaulle never forget Turkey's relations with the Vichy government in World War II and, furthermore, became accustomed to cooperation with the Greek government in exile.

Moreover, Turkey supported Syrian and Lebanese independence and was instrumental in its early realization. How curious it is that, while France is still estranged under the influence of this stance we took, Syria and Lebanon have forgotten it and have acted with France against us many times. Most important in France's anti-Turkish attitude is that it has come to consider itself more privileged than all other states in the western area of the Middle East. The relations that Turkey has formed with the United States and Britain since the days of the Baghdad Pact and more recently bilaterally with the Arab and Muslim nations have conflicted with France's interests here.

#### NATO's Part in Relations

These are emotional causes, unmitigated by France's status in NATO. De Gaulle's hostility toward Britain and the United States deriving from the Second World War manifested itself in his desire to win France a privileged role within NATO.

Britain, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries, Germany and Italy were all at odds with one another and formed close relations with the United States. Germany and Britain in particular held a privileged position with the United States owing to special national characteristics.

De Gaulle, wanting to see France in the Napoleonic legacy as the ruler of Europe, began to feel isolated in this climate and, as a result, went so far as to pull out of the military wing of NATO. By historical coincidence, Greece had also fallen into an isolated mentality within NATO at this time. The Greek national consciousness had failed to absorb the installation of a joint administration with the Turkish community on Cyprus. And this had brought about in Greece the same air of isolation towards NATO and the United States as existed in France. By historical coincidence, Karamanlis had taken refuge in France and formed close relations with French statesmen, and the mutual animosity towards NATO of the two nations became a political link. Papandreou at the same time had begun cooperating with the French Socialist Party in his struggle against the colonels. To the extent that, in a speech during his recent visit, Mitterand referred to their having considered with Papandreou the formation of a Mediterranean group within NATO.

#### Armenian Terrorism and France

The concentration of France's Armenian minority of 300,000 in such socialist strongholds as Marseilles and Lyons and their influence on French politicians have formed an additional obstacle to Turkish French relations and stimulated French-Greek closeness.

Greece benefitted a great deal during the Karamanlis period from this closeness with France in being accepted into the European Community. To the extent that Greece's membership in the EC came about as the result of French pressure. However, France was unable to help Greece much in the Cyprus problem and the Aegean disputes. In particular, the fact that both of them were outside the military wing of NATO limited their influence within NATO.

Greece has returned to NATO when Papandreou came to power and Papandreou undertook to use the closeness with France to better effect.

Papandreou took pains to exploit to the hilt during his election campaign the hostility of Greek public opinion towards NATO and the United States.

He proclaimed as his goals the formation of a "free," "impartial" foreign policy, just as a group of our leftist politicians had once done, withdrawal from NATO, withdrawal from the EC and establishing close relations with the Communist Bloc. His idea in this policy was to be on the same parallel with France and with the Social Democrats in particular. Hostility towards Turkey was used, on the one hand, to respond to French interests and, on the other, to put Russia on his side.

#### NATO Partners and Embargo

Very early on, however, he fell into an adverse conjuncture in NATO and within the EC. While the NATO partners were chafing on the one hand under the dispute with the United States over the Soviet embargo and on the other were embroiled among themselves over agricultural supports, they had no patience for Greece's contrariness. In particular, Mitterand's completely unexpected demonstration of closeness to America and distance from the Soviet Union ran counter to Papandreou's expectations.

The extent of it was that France's most influential newspaper LE MONDE printed its article on Mitterand's Greek visit under the headline "Limits on Relations with Greece." France was careful to show that the Greek visit was nothing special and portrayed it as one of the trips Mitterand was making to the EC partners.

As regards Cyprus, too, they have made it clear that their attitude is different from Greece's. The communique said that France favored resolution of the Cyprus problem between the two communities with the aid of Greece and Turkey. That is, their opposition to Papandreou's shifting the Cyprus problem to an international forum was confirmed.

#### Misleading Initiatives Preventable

One must not attribute France's current reserve towards Greece to any change in their thoughts towards Greece, but rather to France's being more heedful of Turkey. Along with the stability Turkey has gained, there is the role of being a normalizing influence, in the Middle East in which Khomeyni's success in particular has cast Turkey. We must not be deceived by our difficulties in the Council of Europe and with a prejudiced segment of the Western press. Turkey has gained, in international diplomacy and the economy, a reliability and credibility that it has not heretofore enjoyed both in the state and the private sector.

It is therefore capable of successfully preventing Papandreou's deceptive and misleading initiatives. But Papandreou has shown that he is ready to do an about-face at any time on the international platform.

## Turkey Now Holds Trumps

His progression from American citizenship to militant anti-Americanism has shown the world that he is an opportunist devoid of serious convictions.

But awareness of this is not proof that the West is always prepared for Papandreou's tricks. As we have always seen, states are not afraid of concessions in matters where their own interests are not at stake as long as it is skin off someone else's back. Therefore, Turkish diplomacy will need all the skill we can muster.

With an active effort now towards Greece, we may propel the trust we have earned cautiously and quietly to date with a passive stability towards obtaining results. Turkey's new-found respect and new strategic importance have come to a position to prevail upon the international community with positive proposals both as regards Cyprus and on the Aegean problem. It is possible for us to capture the dialogue that Papandreou has used to make himself look flexible and force Greece to the negotiation table.

8349

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## MINISTER PRESENTS PROPOSAL TO INCREASE RESEARCH ON SVALBARD

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Svalbard Research Increases"]

[Text] Technological developments and the scarcity of resources around the world have drawn much attention to the possibilities for economic activity in the Arctic. This was said by Minister of Environmental Affairs Wenche Frogn Sellaeg when she presented the Storting report on environmental protection, mapping and research in polar areas which will be given to the cabinet tomorrow. The minister of environmental affairs confirmed that the government desires more intensive research in these areas.

In the Storting report it was stated that nobody, neither those living on Svalbard nor the authorities in Norway, want to expand tourism on Svalbard, which has doubled since 1974. The strict registration requirements and the lack of lodging and eating facilities will not be expanded. Rather the contrary: The underlying tone of the report to the Storting is that tourists should keep away.

Why this strict attitude toward a business which otherwise could bring life and activity to the islands? The answer is short and direct: Svalbard's location and its ecological vulnerability. Destruction of pollution and the natural correction of damage to nature take so much longer in these areas than in other places, that mass tourism is not considered to be a wise policy.

According to Article 2 of the Svalbard treaty Norway has the duty to fix and enforce applicable measures to protect and if necessary restore animal and plant life. The duty to protect the natural environment on Svalbard is thus a central task for Norwegian authorities.

Management responsibility for the interim conservation regulations for Svalbard and Jan Mayen is being transferred from the Ministry of Industry to the Ministry of Environmental Affairs this year. In cooperation with other technical authorities the Ministry of Environmental Affairs is working on a revision of these regulations, according to the report.

An extensive research project is now going on with Svalbard reindeer as a part of a large UNESCO environmental protection analysis. In the Storting report just presented it is stated that the Ministry of Environmental Affairs will use the results of the analysis as a basis for taking a position on whether ordinary hunting should be permitted. In order to get the broadest possible foundation for a decision, the ministry has approved an expanded scientifically controlled killing of reindeer, so as to have a better basis for deciding if overgrazing in certain areas is an important factor regulating the stocks.

Minister of Environmental Affairs Wenche Frogn Sellaeg emphasizes however that there is no question of changing the prohibition against killing polar bears.

The government also advocates a main chart in the scale of 1:100,000 of the coastal areas, and charts of smaller scale of the sea areas be prepared as soon as possible.

For safety reasons, and with regard to our sovereign rights, the report urges increased tempo in charting. The Polar Institute will continue to have the main responsibility for charting, while the ocean charts will be transferred to Norges Sjøkartverk.

Also the ministry wants to prepare a more united policy with regard to cultural artifacts. In the first place the government believes it is important to get an overview of what cultural artifacts are available, in order to protect these things.

Oil protection preparedness is being organized, according to the Storting report. The Ministry of Environmental Affairs wants to establish a permanent preparedness organization as soon as possible, in which owners of tank farms are also connected. In addition a preparedness plan will be worked out for Svalbard with warning routines, description of command apparatus with actions and a summary of available resources.

To the question of whether Norway will cooperate with the Soviet Union on oil protection preparedness on Svalbard, Minister of Environmental Affairs Wenche Frogn Sellaeg replied that that would not be natural, because it is Norway which has the responsibility if anything should happen.

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